UTILIZING SOCIAL NETWORKS TO COPE WITH SOCIAL LIFE:
AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY FOR THE SOCIALLY ANXIOUS?

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Abstract of Dissertation to the Graduate School
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UTILIZING SOCIAL NETWORKS TO COPE WITH SOCIAL LIFE:
AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY FOR THE SOCIALLY ANXIOUS?

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Socially anxious people have difficulty dealing with social life. When faced with
social interaction, they feel nervous and intimidated, and often demonstrate behaviors that
reflect those insecurities. The social psychological literature focuses on the many
ineffective social strategies utilized by socially anxious people. To avoid failure and
embarrassment, socially anxious people use protective and cost-oriented self-presentation
strategies that tend to be counterproductive for making a good impression on others. The
present research attempted to identify a social strategy that would be safe to socially
anxious people, but more effective in achieving social success. Relying on friends and
acquaintances to help manage impressions may be one way that socially anxious people
can approach social life more assertively. Three studies investigated whether this is a
viable strategy for socially anxious people. A survey study found evidence that, in some

circumstances, socially anxious people rely more on friends and less on themselves than nonsocially anxious people to initiate social activity. Participants recalled recent social experiences they had encountered, and reported, for example, that when meeting potential dating partners, they tended to rely on and need friends to introduce them. An experiment demonstrated that friends of socially anxious people will help them make a desirable impression on an interaction partner by describing them according to the likes of that person. A second experiment indicated that if socially anxious people have a friend that describes them to a future interaction partner, that they will experience less nervousness, but only whey they perceive their friend's help as safe and beneficial. Together, the three studies suggest that socially anxious people do rely on friends to help them navigate social life, that this help can reduce nervousness before social interaction, and that socially anxious people have friends who will engage in this type of social help. Thus, utilizing social networks is a viable and effective strategy for socially anxious people to better cope with social life.

INTRODUCTION

The value placed on how well people interact and communicate with others is evident in the number of self-help books offering to teach social skills, improve public speaking, increase assertiveness, or impress an interviewer, to name a few. For most of these books, the essence of their message is how to improve self-presentation; how to teach people to adjust what they say and how they say it in order to make a desired impression on an audience. Thus, at the core of social and interpersonal success is effective self-presentation or impression management (Schlenker, 1980). Personal and professional success, as well as self-views and mental health, rely on the ability to communicate with others, as well as convey desirable images to them. Yet, at one time or another, people find accomplishing effective self-presentation difficult. In certain social situations people may experience anxiety and concern about how well they can present the images they desire to convey. But more importantly, what about people who chronically experience feelings of doubt and inadequacy in their self-presentations? Knowing how much society values social and communication skills, how do people who are dispositionally anxious during social situations cope with social life?

Most of the literature on social anxiety and related topics focuses on the many ineffective social strategies utilized by socially anxious people (Arkin, Lake, & Baumgardner, 1986; Leary & Kowalski, 1995; Schlenker & Leary, 1982; Shepperd &

Arkin, 1990). The portrait painted of socially anxious people is certainly not a promising one. Yet, for most people who score high in social anxiety (as defined by social psychologists), their condition is not debilitating. Socially anxious people do have social lives, relationships, careers, and so on, that require that they manage their daily social lives. They also have the same needs and desires to belong and get along with others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). This dissertation investigates one possible effective strategy that socially anxious people may utilize to approach social life. Specifically, I focus on how people who are socially anxious rely on their social networks to help them navigate through social life.

<div align="center">Defining Social Anxiety</div>

For this research, the framework from which society anxiety is construed is the self-presentational model of social anxiety, that states that social anxiety arises when an individual desires to make a good impression on others, but doubts his or her ability to do so (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). This approach focuses on people's interpersonal concerns and beliefs about their ability to effectively convey images of themselves to others as well as receive the reactions they desire from others. Set apart from more generalized anxiety, social anxiety stems from the prospect of interpersonal evaluation in the social realm (Leary & Kowalski, 1995; Schlenker & Leary, 1982). The self-presentational model provides a heuristic for studying both situational influences on social anxiety, as well as individual differences in the experience of social anxiety. For differentiating socially versus nonsocially anxious people, the self-presentational model puts forth that socially anxious people are more concerned about their self-presentation, yet have more negative

expectations as to how well they will reach their self-presentation goals than nonsocially anxious people.

Social anxiety as defined by the self-presentational perspective encompasses other individual difference variables that are similar in nature. Shyness, for example, may be described as social anxiety accompanied by specific behaviors, such as being reticent and inhibited (Buss, 1980; Zimbardo, 1977). More specific variations of social anxiety include dating anxiety, introversion, speech fright, stage fright, and embarrassment, to name a few. In general, what all of these types of social anxiety have in common is that they originate from the prospect of interacting with and being evaluated by others (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). Where appropriate, research from shyness as well as some of the more specific types of social anxiety may be discussed.[1]

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[1] Some researchers have used the term social anxiety and shyness interchangeably (Garcia, Stinson, Ickes, Bisssonnette, & Briggs, 1991). Others, however, have made conceptual distinctions between the two (Leary & Schlenker, 1981). Some definitions of shyness focus on the behavioral manifestations of being shy (i.e., blushing, stammering), whereas others focus on the experience of shyness (i.e., feeling interpersonal discomfort or anxiety). Other approaches to shyness have focused on it as a personality trait (Crozier, 1979). Social anxiety (particularly as defined by the self-presentational model), provides a more inclusive definition that allows for the impact of the situation and interpersonal processes to be considered as well individual differences. According to the self-presentation model, shyness is a state of social anxiety which occurs in situations that are not contingent upon specific plans and scripts. In other words, shyness arises in social situations that are more "off the cuff" that rely on monitoring and responding to other's reactions to one's self-presentation (Leary & Schlenker, 1981). Shyness as an individual difference variable would be those who chronically experience social anxiety in these types of situations. Audience anxiety, speech fright, and stage fright, conversely, are other types of social anxiety that occur during interactions in which behavior is contingent on plans and scripts. Anxiety occurs in these situations when people doubt their ability to execute those plans and goals in those specific situations.

Because this research aims to focus on how socially anxious people can effectively cope with social life, it is important to note, that it is not intended to apply to social anxiety as defined by clinical psychology. That is, people who score in the high range on social psychological measures of social anxiety (e.g., Leary, 1983) may have difficulty with social interaction and experience discomfort, but they are able to live normal, productive lives. For people who fit the clinical diagnosis for social anxiety or social phobia, however, their anxiety is so extreme that it significantly interferes with daily functioning, including their professional and personal lives (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). In fact, people who are considered social phobics may experience such intense reactions to social situations that they have panic attacks (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Thus, in trying to establish possible effective self-presentation strategies that socially anxious people can utilize, these strategies may not be applicable to people who are diagnosed with social anxiety or social phobia.

<u>Characteristics of Socially Anxious People</u>

To describe the socially anxious person, it may be most illustrative to indicate what other individual difference variables are correlated with social anxiety. For example, people who are socially anxious tend to be publicly self-conscious (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975) in that they, more than others, feel they are being observed and evaluated by those around them. Similarly, people who have a high need for social approval (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964), or who have a fear of negative evaluation (Watson & Friend, 1969) also tend to be socially anxious. One can imagine the cycle that occurs for people who are not only overly aware of themselves as the objects of others' evaluations, but then fear that those others will ultimately reject them.

Thus, most socially anxious people approach social interaction with extreme trepidation. During or in anticipation of social interaction, this trepidation manifests itself in physiological responses often associated with anxiety. For example, when anticipating, imagining, or participating in social interaction, socially anxious people show indications of sympathetic arousal such as increased heart rate, respiration, and blood pressure (Brodt & Zimbardo, 1981; Puigcerver, Martinez-Selva, Garcia-Sanchez, & Gomez-Amor, 1989). These physiological responses often result in overt, nervous behaviors such as fidgeting, stuttering, self-manipulation (twirling one's hair), blushing, and perspiring (Cheek & Buss, 1981; Pilkonis, 1977). Thus, given such reactions to anxiety, it is not surprising that people who experience high levels of social anxiety have difficulty communicating with others (Kasl & Mahl, 1965) and tend not to fare as well as nonsocially anxious people during social interaction (Leary & Kowalski, 1995).

<center>Mediators of Social Anxiety</center>

Why do people who are socially anxious react so strongly to the notion of interacting with others? Several approaches have been offered to describe why socially anxious people experience such nervousness and doubt, and I will discuss two of the more prominent view points. First, the behavioral deficit approach assumes that people who are socially anxious have inadequate social skills (Curran, 1977). Therefore, the social anxiety that they experience is actually a realistic reaction to their true inadequacies in the social realm. Although this model of social anxiety would seem to make sense given the physiological arousal and symptoms that anxious people typically experience, few studies have found that objective observers or interaction partners rate people high in social

anxiety as having deficient social skills (Arkowitz, Lichtenstein, McGovern, & Hines, 1975; Glasgow & Arkowitz, 1975). Further, people who are socially anxious do not lack knowledge of what is socially appropriate behavior (Hill, 1989). Thus, people who are socially anxious are aware of what appropriate social behavior is and, to some extent, are able to demonstrate those behaviors.

Although there is no consistent evidence that would suggest that others interpret a lack of social skills for socially anxious people, socially anxious people see themselves as lacking social skills (Alden & Cappe, 1981; Clark & Arkowitz, 1975). In rating themselves generally on social skills, or reacting to a specific social performance, socially anxious people almost always rate themselves more negatively than their nonsocially anxious counterparts (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). Why do people who are socially anxious see themselves so negatively despite others not doing so? The second mediator discussed in the literature may provide insight into this pattern. Cognitive underpinnings of social anxiety have been more consistent in differentiating between socially and nonsocially anxious people. In general, people who are socially anxious are excessively self-preoccupied (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). As indicated by the relationship between social anxiety and other individual difference variables (e.g., public self-consciousness, need for approval, fear of negative evaluation), socially anxious people are consumed with how others evaluate them (Asendorpf, 1987; Smith, Ingram, & Brehm, 1983). Further, this preoccupation tends to be negatively self-focused in that their thoughts are dominated by doubts and feelings of inadequacy (Sarason & Sarason, 1986).

Because of their negative self-focus, socially anxious people may encode and interpret feedback from others in a negatively biased fashion. For example, socially anxious people often select and remember information about themselves that is overly negative (Breck & Smith, 1983; Cacioppo, Glass, & Merluzzi, 1979; Duval & Wickland, 1972; O'banion & Arkowitz, 1977). Even when they are given success feedback, socially anxious people will not take responsibility for that positive outcome (Arkin, Appelman, & Burger, 1980; Teglasi & Fagin, 1984), or they will describe the positive feedback as inaccurate (Alden, 1987; Lake & Arkin, 1985). Accordingly, unlike nonsocially anxious people, (Greenwald, 1980; Miller & Ross, 1975), when failure feedback is provided, socially anxious people will actually take the blame for the failure and assume that it is a reflection of their inabilities (Arkin et al., 1980; Shepperd, Arkin, & Slaughter, 1995; Teglasi & Fagin, 1984). Thus, this negative cognitive style serves to reinforce itself, in that even though audiences are not necessarily responding to socially anxious people negatively, they interpret their responses as rejecting. And, even if a social success is experienced, it is not catalogued as such by socially anxious people,.

Self-Presentation Strategies

From the description of socially anxious people thus far, the picture painted is not very positive. Socially anxious people believe they do not show up well socially and expect to do poorly when interacting with others. When faced with a social encounter, they experience great trepidation as well as disruptive physiological symptoms. At the same time, socially anxious people have the same social needs and desires as nonsocially anxious people and, in fact, may be more concerned than nonsocially anxious people about

how they come across (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). How, then, do socially anxious people approach social interaction?

Self-presentation strategies refer to ways in which people attempt to reach their interpersonal goals. More generally, Langston and Cantor (1989) describe "life task" strategies as the actions and plans enacted to reach life goals. Self-presentation strategies, then are approaches or styles of behavior typically employed to reach social goals, such as making a desirable impression on an audience, being accepted by peers, or having the images one would like to convey reinforced by others. Research suggests that when determining how satisfied people are with their social lives, it is the strategies they employ to reach interpersonal goals that are most influential (Langston & Cantor, 1989). Thus, given the characteristics and thought patterns of socially anxious versus nonsocially anxious people, the strategies they enact may account for the social outcomes that each group experiences.

Acquisitive Strategies of Nonsocially Anxious People.

Nonsocially anxious people have numerous strategies at their fingertips to utilize for self-presentation (Schlenker, 1980). To win someone over, they can rely on self-promotion (i.e., describing themselves in a positive light). They can use ingratiation to garner the liking of an interaction partner. They can look back on previous successful social experiences to guide their behavior. Regardless of the specific strategy employed, people who are not shy tend to have more elaborate plans and scripts ready for social interaction than shy people, and also have contingent plans if their first approach is unsuccessful (Berger & Bell, 1988). And, even if nonsocially anxious people experience

failure, as indicated by the literature on self-serving biases, it is likely that they would not let this failure discourage them or influence their confidence level (Miller & Ross, 1975). Thus, nonsocially anxious people are able to approach social interaction with numerous strategies that as a whole have been labeled as a confident, risky, and acquisitive self-presentation style.

Socially anxious people, however, do not have the same strategies at their disposal. Because they approach social interaction with negative expectations, what drives their self-presentation strategies is the goal of avoiding failure and rejection. Using risky strategies like trying to self-promote or ingratiate to their audience would set up expectations that they believe they could not fulfill. Thus, not only do socially anxious people have few strategies to fall back on, the ones they do utilize are based in a protective (Arkin, 1981; Arkin et al.,1986; Shepperd & Arkin, 1990) or constrained (Langston & Cantor, 1989) mode of self-presentation.

Self-Protective Strategies of Socially Anxious People.

Specifically, to avoid failure during social interaction, socially anxious people often opt to avoid interaction entirely or as much as possible by affiliating less with others than nonsocially anxious people (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). Dodge, Heimberg, Nyman, and O'Brien (1987) for example, found that socially anxious participants reported having fewer social interactions than less anxious participants. When socially anxious people do encounter social interaction, their behavior further resembles a disaffiliative pattern. That is, during conversation, they speak less often (Garcia et al, 1991), take longer to respond to others, (Cheek & Buss, 1981), allow more silences (Arkowitz et al., 1975), and have

less eye contact (Cheek & Buss, 1981; Leary, Knight, & Johnson, 1987) than people who are nonsocially anxious.

In general, the strategy of socially anxious people is to set up a "safe" and structured social situation to minimize any costs that may be incurred during social interaction (Arkin et al., 1986). For example, people who are socially anxious tend to spend social time with people they know well and are more likely to plan interactions than to just let them occur spontaneously (Arkin & Grove, 1990). In order to avoid confrontation and drawing attention to themselves during conversation, they may choose topics that seem safe (DePaulo, Epstein, & LeMay, 1990; Thorne, 1987), express neutral attitudes (Turner, 1977), conform more during conversation (Santee & Maslach, 1982), and use more qualifiers in their speech (Thorne, 1987). Further, people who are uncomfortable during social interaction often share very little information about themselves (Thorne, 1987), and self-disclose less (Meleshko & Alden, 1993). Socially anxious people have been found to go as far as purposely failing at tasks in order to lower expectations for future performance (Baumgardner & Brownlee, 1987).

Unfortunately, whereas the acquisitive style seems to serve the nonsocially anxious people well, the cost-oriented, protective style that characterizes socially anxious people is associated with less than desirable results (Baumeister & Scher, 1988; Wallace & Alden, 1997). Although approaching social interaction from the standpoint of avoiding failure minimizes costs, it also minimizes the chances of success and gaining social approval (Shepperd & Arkin, 1990). People who interact with those who adopt a protective self-presentation style may interpret their behaviors as indicating disinterest, conceit, or

boredom (Cheek & Buss, 1981; Leary & Kowalski, 1995). Further, using a "constrained" style of self-presentation as described by Langston and Cantor (1989) leads to less satisfaction with social life, and greater stress and anxiety in the social realm.

As mentioned in the outset of this section, a "strategy" implies action on the part of the person utilizing the strategy. Thus, although the protective self-presentation style of highly anxious people may not be effective in acquiring the trappings of social success, it does represent an active response to social life (Shepperd & Arkin, 1990). Socially anxious people are not passive spectators to social life. In fact, Langston and Cantor (1989) point out that not all people who are socially anxious subscribe to a constrained self-presentation style, and in fact, the ones who attempt to venture out of this style have more interpersonal success. Thus, there must be other ways in which socially anxious people actively cope with social life. Perhaps, a most effective strategy would be one that to socially anxious people, falls under the description of "safe" yet promotes success instead of only avoiding failure.

Social Networks as a Source of Safe Yet Effective Self-Presentation Strategies

People who are socially anxious or shy do have friends. Some research suggests that within the confines of close relationships, socially anxious and shy people feel more comfortable, and are able to be more assertive with their self-presentation (Schneider, 1999). One way that people who are socially anxious may deal with more challenging social situations (i.e., making new friends, meeting a potential romantic interest) is to rely on those good friends for help. Because so many of socially anxious people's problems stem from lacking confidence in their social abilities, friends may do simple things that can

raise expectations for success for socially anxious people. For example, if socially anxious people are hesitant to start conversations with strangers at a party, perhaps a friend will introduce them to people, establish some common interests between the social participants, or introduce a conversation topic that the anxious friend is comfortable with, thereby opening the door for the friend and setting up a more comfortable interaction. Essentially, what friends may do for socially anxious people is give them the sense that they may be more able to reach their self-presentation goals by laying the groundwork for them in social interactions.

Social Support and Friendship for Socially Anxious People.

In general, I suggest that the provision of social support through very tangible means may help socially anxious people better their self-presentations. The literature investigating the relationship among social anxiety, social support, and friendship, however, has not approached these topics from this positive viewpoint. In fact, most research in this area is based on how social anxiety is associated with loneliness and the lack of social support and friendship (Cheek & Buss, 1981; Stokes, 1985). For example, Langston and Cantor (1989) found that socially anxious people who utilized a constrained self-presentation had more difficulty making friends. Shaver, Furman, and Buhrmester (1985) found for college students, that a lack of social skills was highly correlated with feelings of loneliness. The shyness literature also indicates that shy individuals tend to have smaller social networks, are less satisfied with their friendships, and perceive a lack of social support from these friendships (Jones & Carpenter, 1986; Montgomery, Haemmerlie, & Edwards, 1991). Thus, in the past, when investigating socially anxious

people's levels of friendship and support, the focus has been on how their habits and actions negatively impact their interpersonal relationships.

However, some literature on friendship and social support may suggest that perhaps it is worthwhile to examine these issues from a more positive perspective. First, as indicated earlier, most observers and interaction partners of socially anxious people do not notice the lack of social skills demonstrated by socially anxious people (Arkowitz et al., 1975; Glasgow & Arkowitz, 1975). Perhaps people who are shy and socially anxious may still be able to win the hearts of some people to develop friendships. Asendorpf (1998), for example, provided evidence that although shy people, when initially making friends, were less successful, after 15 months time, shy and not shy people had the same number of friends. Second, there is evidence that shy people have satisfying relationships. Schneider (1999), in a study investigating the friendships of socially withdrawn children, for example, found that withdrawn children did have significant friendships with non-withdrawn children, and that those relationships were rated by both groups of children as the most satisfying friendships (versus friendships in which both children were either withdrawn and non-withdrawn). He thus concluded that close friendships are one domain in which the shy person's behavior may be more accepted and valued, and that friends who have different strengths may experience satisfaction because they find the friendship helpful. Third, in terms of reaping the benefits of social support, Cohen, Sherrod, and Clark (1986) found that lack of social skills did not prevent people from experiencing the buffering effects of help from friends. Further, although they also found that social skills did influence perceptions of support and friendship, this was most powerful in the initial

stages of friendship. Perhaps, when shy and socially anxious people get comfortable with friends, they are able to trust in them, and believe that they are supportive of them.

Thus, although the characteristically negative thought patterns and disaffiliative behaviors of socially anxious people might suggest that they would be worse off than nonsocially anxious people in terms of developing friendships and receiving social support, this is not to say that they cannot or do not benefit in some ways from their social networks. The literature provides one example that illustrates this more positive outlook on the relationship between socially anxious people and their social networks. Bradshaw (1998) found support for what he labeled the "social surrogate" hypothesis (i.e., that shy people do in fact turn to their social networks as an active means of coping with their anxieties). In a self-report study, he found that shyness was positively correlated with items that indicated that people will recruit friends to attend social gatherings with them, that they often let their friends take the lead in social situations, and that they feel more comfortable with strangers when a friend is present. Further, he found that people high in shyness more than people low in shyness, were likely to report that they would not attend a social event if a friend was not available to accompany them, and that the reason they prefer to have friends present during social interaction was to reduce the stress level they experience. He therefore concluded that social networks are a viable coping mechanism for shy people, and that they are more utilized and needed by shy versus non-shy people.

Having friends involved and helping in social life, however, is not a strategy that only highly socially anxious people will utilize. Given that nonsocially anxious people may have larger social networks (Jones & Carpenter, 1986), tend to be more extraverted

(Pontari & Schlenker, 2000), and in general have a more active social life, they too might report that their friends play a large role in their social endeavors. However, these groups may differ in why this help is used or how much their success in social life relies on this help. Whereas nonsocially anxious people may have many effective self-presentation strategies to utilize, socially anxious people have few. Whereas nonsocially anxious people may appreciate their friends presence when they are meeting new people or attending a social event, socially anxious people may feel that without their friends present they would not be able handle those situations. Thus, for socially anxious people, the presence and involvement of friends in their social life may be much more of a factor in their interpersonal success. Study 1 of this dissertation will attempt to identify aspects of social situations in which socially anxious people may rely more on friends' involvement than nonsocially anxious people, as well as provide evidence that relying on social networks for help in social life is a feasible strategy for socially anxious people.

STUDY 1

Overview

Through a survey study, the purpose of Study 1 was to establish that relying on friends to improve social interactions is a viable self-presentation strategy for socially anxious people, and that, in some circumstances, socially anxious people may rely more on their friends during social interaction than nonsocially anxious people. Participants recalled and visualized social situations they had recently experienced. They were provided with a set of responses depicting typical reactions to different aspects of those situations that represented relying on oneself versus others. Using the experiences they recalled as a guide, participants rank ordered those responses in terms of how often they engaged in those behaviors.

Method

Participants

One-hundred twenty-one Introductory Psychology students (73 females and 48 males) who completed a pretesting survey were recruited to participate. All participants completed Leary's Social Anxiety Scale (1983) in the pretesting session. Leary's Scale consists of 15 items that include questions such as, "I often get nervous at casual get-togethers," or "Parties often make me feel anxious and uncomfortable." Participants responded on 0 to 4 scales, with 0 indicating "not at all characteristic of me" to 4

indicating "extremely characteristic of me." Four of the 15 items were reverse scored to indicate that higher scores represent more social anxiety. Scores could range from 0 to 60. For this sample, scores on the Leary scale ranged from 3 to 55, and the average social anxiety score for participants was 24.17.

Procedure

Participants completed the survey in groups of 8 to 20. Upon arrival to the session, participants read that we were interested in investigating how people make new friends, meet new acquaintances, and deal with social interaction. They were informed that they would be asked to recall experiences from their personal lives and to respond to questions about those experiences (see Appendix A).

The survey and instructions that participants received are provided in Appendix B. Participants read four different scenarios that represent social situations that most college students would experience. Scenarios included (1) meeting and getting to know their close friends, (2) meeting a potential romantic partner (3) attending a social event such as a party and (4) working on a group project in a class. For each scenario, participants recalled the last few times they had a similar experience and attempted to visualize those experiences. To help students recall the details of each situation, they wrote some brief details about the experience (e.g., provide the initials of the friends they were visualizing). After each scenario, questions were presented that intended to measure several aspects of how involved participants' friends were in those types of social situations. For most questions, participants rank ordered possible responses based on how often (i.e., from most to least) they behaved in that manner. Possible responses were options that

represented relying more or less on friends' involvement, and taking more or less personal initiative in the situation.

After completing the surveys, participants read a debriefing and were given credit towards a class research requirement for participating.

<u>Dependent Measures and Predictions</u>

One purpose (and challenge) of this research was to develop measures sensitive enough to differentiate socially and nonsocially anxious participants in how often or to what extent they use their friends to help them in social life. As discussed earlier, nonsocially anxious people may report having friends involved in their social life to the same extent as socially anxious people. The difference for these two groups lies in how much this involvement of friends is needed to feel comfortable or be able to deal with social life (for people high in social anxiety), versus simply providing an added positive feature to an already satisfying social life (for people low in social anxiety). To best detect these differences, I incorporated several features into the survey. First, I asked people to recall actual social experiences they had recently and to think about how they typically reacted to those situations to best capture real behavior (versus participants relying on what they interpret as their typical behavior). Second, I presented participants with questions that asked about specific parts or aspects of those social situations that represent key points in social interaction in which socially anxious people may rely on their friends' help. For example, I asked participants to recall situations in which they met new friends or romantic interests, and if it was more typical for them to introduce themselves or have friends introduce them in those situations. Third, in most cases, I asked participants to

rank order the possible reactions to the situations so that they were forced to decide what was most and least representative of their behavior. This may have helped control for issues such as differences in size of social network, as well as reporting involvement of friends that reflects pleasure versus necessity. Finally, I also asked participants to rank order their behavior in a variety of social situations (e.g., meeting their close friends, meeting a romantic interest, going to a party), allowing participants to consider diverse types of experiences, and possibly opportunities in which friends were more or less involved. By incorporating these four features in this study, I intended to find aspects of social life that differentiated the behaviors of socially and nonsocially anxious participants. The following hypotheses delineate these possible areas, and describe how items on the survey were intended to be combined to represent these areas.

Hypothesis 1: Will social anxiety be related to relying on friends versus oneself when meeting new people?

Introducing oneself to others represents a social behavior that is very challenging for socially anxious people (Leary & Kowalski, 1995), and may also be one part of social interaction in which help from friends is more needed for socially anxious people. Specifically, when recalling personal experiences of social situations, socially anxious participants will indicate that friends and others introduce them to potential friends and dates more often than nonsocially anxious participants, and that nonsocially anxious participants introduced themselves to potential friends and dates more often than socially anxious participants. Question 1 from scenario 1, question 2 from scenario 2, question 3 from scenario 3, and question 1 from scenario 4 were to be combined to test this

hypothesis. Further, question 5 from scenario 1 and question 3 from scenario 2, were to be combined to measure how socially anxious versus nonsocially participants respond to what they would most or least likely do when wanting to meet someone new.

In addition to having rank order data for these responses, I also included a measure that asked participants to rate in general how characteristic of them were different ways of meeting people (Question 1, Appendix C). This provided another way to consider friends' involvement in meeting people, as well as a measure of this aspect of social interaction on an interval (verus rank order) scale.

Hypothesis 2: Will initiation of social activity be related to social anxiety?

A similar concept to how much friends are needed to make introductions is how willing people are to initiate activity within a friend or acquaintanceship. Socially anxious people may prefer others to plan activities and initiate conversation. Thus, for question 4 from scenario 1 and question 2 from scenario 3 (combined), socially versus nonsocially anxious participants should recall having friends initiate activity more often, whereas nonsocially versus socially anxious participants should recall initiating social activity themselves more often.

Hypothesis 3: Will the extent to which members of a social network overlap be related to social anxiety?

Another way to measure how involved members of social networks are in social activities is to examine to what extent members of the social network are intertwined. For example, when a person makes a new friend or meets a new acquaintance, is it likely that those new friends are somehow related to people already in the person's social network?

It might be expected that one safe way that socially anxious people are able to extend their social network is to become friends with people who know their existing set of friends. Nonsocially anxious people, on the other hand, may be more likely (or able) to find new relationships outside of their social network. Thus, it was intended that question 3 from scenario 1, question 1 from scenario 2, and question 4 from scenario 3 would be combined to test this hypothesis that socially anxious participants will recall more instances in which their friends and new acquaintances were friends of friends, whereas nonsocially anxious people will recall more instances of friends and new acquaintances being outside of their social network.

Hypothesis 4: Will having friends accompany people to social events be related to social anxiety?

Similar to the previous measure, I included a measure that assessed how friends can be utilized to make a social situation less intimidating. That is, socially anxious people may recall having friends accompany them to social events more often than nonsocially anxious people. In Bradshaw's (1998) work on "social surrogates", he found that shy people tend to recruit friends to accompany them to social events more than non-shy people. Question 1 from scenario 3 and question 2 from scenario 4 were to be combined to test the hypothesis that socially anxious people are more likely to recall times when they attended social events with a friend or friends, whereas nonsocially anxious people will recall more episodes in which they entered social events alone. Question 3 from scenario 2 may also be considered a measure of utilizing a safe situation in which to meet people. Socially anxious people may be more likely than nonsocially anxious people to report

meeting people in structured activities such as school, work, or clubs, whereas nonsocially versus anxious people may report meeting people at less structured social activities (e.g., parties).

Hypothesis 5: Do socially anxious versus nonanxious people rely more on their friends for social success?

To tap directly into how much people require friends' input to succeed socially, I included a measure that asked participants to indicate what percent of the time they have their friends involved in meeting a potential dating partner, and what percent of the time they rely on this input to make a good impression (versus relying feeling comfortable relying on themselves). For questions 4 and 5 from scenario 2, I expected that socially anxious versus nonsocially anxious participants will indicate a higher percentage for option b for question 4, and option a for question 5. In addition, I also included a question that addressed why participants would prefer their friends to be present during social interaction (Question 2, Appendix C). This provided a similar measure conceptually, but on an interval scale. I expected that socially anxious, more than nonsocially anxious participants, would indicate that it is characteristic of them to prefer that friends are present because they make social events less intimidating, but that level of social anxiety will not relate to the two other items (i.e., that it is typically more fun to have friends around during social interaction, and that it is easier to meet people when friends are present).

Hypothesis 6: How does satisfaction with social life relate to social anxiety, and the presence of friends in social life?

The final pages of the survey, (see Appendix C), included measures of how people typically respond to social life, and feel about their own social abilities. The key measures

addressed how satisfied people are with their friends, social life, and social support network (item 3). Socially anxious people whose friends play a role in their social life (as indicated in their responses to the scenarios), will report being more satisfied in these domains than socially anxious people who do not indicate having friends as involved. Non-anxious participants will report more satisfaction in these domains overall, and this satisfaction will not be related to the level of involvement of their friends. The other measures on these final pages were included for exploratory purposes.

Results

Tests of the Major Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Will social anxiety be related to relying on friends versus oneself when meeting new people?

Following each scenario, one question asked participants to rank order what occurred most (ranked as a 1) to least often (ranked as a 4) when they were meeting people (either friends, dating partners, or students in a class, depending on the scenario) for the first time. Four response options were provided for participants on which to rank what tended to occur. They were (a) you introduced yourself to the new acquaintance - referred to as the "self" option (b) you were introduced by a friend - referred to as the "friend" option (c) you were introduced by another person whom you didn't know very well - referred to as the "other" option or (d) your new acquaintance introduced him- or herself to you - referred to as "other introduced self" option. Originally, I intended to combine the questions from the four scenarios for each of the four types of responses indicated above, thereby yielding an overall dependent measure for each type of response.

However, the four combined items for each scenario proved not to be reliable measures: Cronbach's alphas were .68, .29, .45 and .27 for the self, friend, other, and other introduced self options, respectively. Further, exploratory factor analysis of the 16 response choices did not yield a four-factor solution, nor did the similar options from each scenario load onto the same factor. Thus, for examining how social anxiety relates to meeting people, each scenario was analyzed separately. For each of the scenarios, the four response options were regressed separately onto participants' scores on Leary's Social Anxiety Scale (1983). Standardized beta weights are reported. Recall that the rank order data imply that lower numbers are what people indicated they do more or most often. Thus, for items that participants high in social anxiety were expected to rank as what they do more often than participants low in anxiety, a significant relationship would be indicated by a negative beta weight.

For Scenario 1 in which participants recalled the times when they met their closest friends, in support of the hypothesis, social anxiety predicted responses to how often others they did not know well introduced participants to these friends, $\beta = -.27$, $\underline{p} < .05$, how often participants introduced themselves to new friends, $\beta = .33$, $p < .05$, and how often their new friends introduced themselves to participants, $\beta = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Contrary to predictions, scores on social anxiety did not predict the option indicating how often friends introduced participants to new friends, $\beta = .08$, $\underline{p} > .05$. However, on this item, for all participants, the average ranking was 1.75, thus indicating that although high and low social anxiety participants didn't differentially recall having friends introduce them to new acquaintances, regardless of level of social anxiety, this option was indicated as what occurred most or second most often.

The pattern that socially anxious people would rely less on themselves and more on others was supported. Those high versus low in social anxiety relied on others to introduce them, and relied on the new friend to introduce him- or herself more than those low in social anxiety, whereas those low versus high in anxiety relied on themselves more to meet friends. Social anxiety was not related to relying on friends specifically to meet people, however. A difference score that indicated how much more likely participants were to rank utilizing the help of others (i.e., both friends and others) than rely on themselves was also calculated. The ranking for how often the participants relied on themselves was subtracted from the sum of the ranks for relying on friends and others. This indicator of relying on others was significantly predicted by social anxiety, $\beta = -.23$, $\underline{p}$ < .01. Thus, although there was no support for relying on friends specifically, overall, participants higher in social anxiety relied more on others in general and less often on themselves to help them meet friends.

For Scenario 2, in which participants recalled the last times they met someone who was a potential dating partner, social anxiety scores predicted rankings for how often they were introduced by a friend, $\beta = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .01$, and how often they relied on themselves to meet a potential romantic partner, $\beta = .31$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. For this scenario, social anxiety did not predict responses to how often participants were introduced by someone other than friends, $\beta = .08$, $\underline{p} > .05$, nor how often potential dating partners introduced themselves to participants, $\beta = -.04$, $\underline{p} > .05$. Similar to Scenario 1, however, the difference score indicating reliance on others versus self was significantly predicted by social anxiety scores, $\beta = -.19$, $\underline{p} < .01$. The pattern of responses from Scenario 2, then, also reflect a

tendency of people high in social anxiety to rely on others more, specifically friends in this case, and themselves less than people lower in social anxiety.

Scenario 3 asked participants to recall the last times they attended a social event. The question regarding meeting new people asked them to rank how often they engaged in the four different options at the specific social events they recalled. For this scenario, social anxiety only marginally predicted the option of participants introducing themselves to people at the social events, $\beta = .18$, $\underline{p} < .06$ For the three other options, social anxiety scores were not related, all β's $< .14$. However, for the option indicating how often they relied on friends to meet people, the average ranking for all participants was 1.55; again suggesting that for meeting acquaintances (for this scenario at a party situation), most people report relying on friends as what occurred most often. However, the difference score representing relying on other versus oneself to meet people at a social gathering was marginally predicted by social anxiety, $\beta = -.16$, $\underline{p} < .08$. Thus, although less consistent than scenarios 1 and 2, when meeting people at social events, social anxiety was related to relying on others versus oneself.

Finally, for Scenario 4, participants recalled episodes in which they had to break into groups for class projects. The four options for this scenario asked participants to rank if they relied on friends or others to find a group, let other people in class introduce themselves to them to join the group, or if they approached others to form a group. Social anxiety did not predict ratings for any of these options (all β's $< .11$), and also was not related to the difference score of relying on others versus self, $\beta = -.01$, $\underline{p} > .05$. Therefore, a classroom setting does not seem to differentiate how people high versus low in social anxiety handle meeting new people.

For Scenario1 and 2, there was another item that addressed what participants tended do when meeting new people. For these items, instead of asking to recall their specific behaviors in those scenarios, participants were asked if they wanted to meet new friends (Scenario 1) or a dating partner (Scenario 2), would they introduce themselves, rely on a friend, or wait for others to introduce themselves to them. To maintain consistency with the above analyses, these items were analyzed separately by scenario. For Scenario 1, social anxiety predicted rankings for introducing self, $\beta = .32$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, and waiting for others to introduce themselves $\beta = -.27$, $\underline{p} < .01$. There was no significant relationship between social anxiety and relying on friends, $\beta = -.10$, $\underline{p} > 05$. For scenario 2, a similar pattern emerged. Social anxiety predicted introducing self, $\beta = .23$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and waiting for the others to introduce themselves, $\beta = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .05$, but not for relying on friends, $\beta = .01$, $\underline{p} > .05$. Although those higher in social anxiety prefer to refrain from initiating social interaction with friends and potential dating partners, they do not seem to think they would rely differentially on friends in either of those situations. In fact, the friend option for both scenarios was ranked by all participants as what they would be most likely (or second most likely) to do ($\underline{M}$s = 1.70 and 1.87 for Scenarios 1 and 2 respectively).

It may be important to note that for these items, the only option provided that indicated that a third party was involved was the friend option. Thus, the findings seem somewhat contradictory to how participants responded to the previous items measuring what occurred when meeting people. In the dating scenario, for example, social anxiety scores did predict responses to how often friends introduced participants to potential

dating partners. Moreover, as indicated by the results for the difference scores, for the first three scenarios, socially anxious people indicated relying on third parties more in general during social interaction. However, for the above two items, social anxiety did not predict relying on friends (the only third party option). Perhaps, this inconsistency is the result of how the questions were asked -- what people think they would do versus what they actually recall doing in a situation. That is, when participants are asked to speculate what they would do versus reporting the details of a specific scenario that they recalled, this type of questioning may be more influenced by the negative biases associated with social anxiety. Socially anxious people who tend to view their social life negatively may not think that they could rely on friends to help them. Yet, when actually visualizing past experiences, they may be better able to recall their friends being present and involved.

Finally, at the end of the questionnaire, there were six items that represented how people tend to meet new people (e.g., "I tend to introduce myself," "Friends tend to introduce me"). This again was included to provide a general measure of utilizing friends, while also having a measure on an interval (versus a rank order) scale. Participants rated each item on a 1 (not at all characteristic) to 7 (very much characteristic) scale. These six items were submitted to a principal components factor analysis. Cattell's scree test indicated a three factor solution with all eigenvalues were greater than 1. With a varimax rotation, the three factors represented an initiative factor (i.e., "I tend to introduce myself, I tend to wait until people introduce themselves to me," reverse-scored, $\alpha = .78$), a reliance on others factor (i.e., "Friends introduce me," "I introduce myself but have friends who know the person I am meeting," and "I tend to talk to new acquaintances when I am

in a group of friends"; although the rotated factor pattern suggested these three items make up this factor, Cronbach's alpha suggested it is not a reliable measure, $\alpha = .31$). The final factor was comprised of only one item (i.e., "I tend to get introduced by another person whom I don't know"). Bivariate regression of social anxiety on these three factors revealed that social anxiety was only a significant predictor for the taking initiative factor, $\beta = -.42$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. The other factors were not predicted by scores on social anxiety, all β's < .10. (To ensure that the lack of reliability for the reliance on others factor did not account for the pattern of results, each of the items that comprised that factor were analyzed separately. However, social anxiety scores did not significantly predict any of those items separately either.) Thus, similar to the findings for predicting what they would do in an introduction situation, social anxiety did not relate to the general tendency to rely on friends and others, but rather related to the tendency not to rely on oneself. This, in comparison with participants recalling what occurred in real social experiences may again relate to socially anxious people relying on a heuristic or negative bias to assume that friends and others are not involved in social life.

Overall, for introducing oneself to others, the pattern suggests that socially versus nonsocially anxious people tend rely less on themselves, and sometimes more on friends and others to meet people. In some cases, (particularly for items that asked participants to recall behavior in specific situations), social anxiety predicted how often people relied on friends and others to introduce them to new friends and dating partners. And, when social anxiety did not predict the items that referred to friends' involvement in social life, the average ranking for these items indicated that all participants recall friends' involvement as

a common occurrence. However, when indicating what participants do in actual situations, what they would do, or in general what is characteristic of them when meeting new people, social anxiety most consistently predicts if initiative is taken. That is, for three of the four scenarios, and for the general questions, higher scores on social anxiety related to participants relying less on themselves to meet new people and more on the new acquaintances to introduce themselves (but not necessarily more on their friends to introduce them).

Hypothesis 2: Will initiation of social activity be related to social anxiety?

It was hypothesized that because socially anxious people tend to take a safer approach to social interaction, they may rely on their friends more than nonsocially anxious people to plan activities and initiate conversation. Thus, they may depend on friends and others to not only make introductions, but also to engage them in social interaction. For example, in Scenario 1, participants ranked what they tended to do when they were getting to know their close friends. That is, did they (a) initiate and plan the time they spent together, (b) rely on the friends to initiate and plan the time they spent together or (c) did they and their friends plan the time they spent together? Social anxiety predicted responses to the items that indicated they relied on friends to initiate and plan time spent together, $\beta = -.27$, $p < .01$, and that they relied on themselves and friends, $\beta = .17$, $p < .07$. The item representing initiating activity on one's own was not predicted by social anxiety scores, $\beta = .13$, $p > .05$, but was in the expected direction. Thus, when participants recalled the time when they were getting to know their close friends, those higher in social anxiety were more likely to rely on their new friends to initiate activity, and were less likely to rely on themselves and friends to jointly plan activities.

Similarly, for Scenario 3, participants ranked the amount of initiative they took in conversation at the social events they recalled. Did they (a) spend most of the time talking with people they already knew (b) spend most of their time talking with people they had just met or (c) spend most of the time talking with both new people and friends. Social anxiety predicted participants' rankings for spending time talking with people they knew, $\beta = -.22$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and spending time talking with both new people and friends, $\beta = .19$, $\underline{p} < .05$. The item indicating spending time with new acquaintances was not predicted by social anxiety, $\beta = .04$, $\underline{p} > .05$. Thus, similar to Scenario 1, social anxiety predicted taking the "safe" option in social situations; relying on other to initiate conversation. Further, in both scenarios, analyses indicated that higher social anxiety scores predicted a tendency to rely less on oneself in combination with friends and others. This finding is somewhat puzzling, given that social anxiety did not predict the item that represented the most risky of options (i.e., relying on oneself to initiate activity and conversation). Perhaps, those lower in social anxiety indicate that they jointly rely on themselves and others for social activity and conversation because that represents a sort of social grace or skill. Endorsing the item that suggests one relies only on oneself to plan activity and start conversation may imply a sort of social aggressiveness or self-absorption, whereas balancing taking initiative with allowing others to direct social activity may be most indicative of being aware of how to also make others feel comfortable during social interaction. Regardless of why nonsocially anxious people tend to rely on themselves and others to initiate social activity and conversation, there was consistent evidence that socially anxious people tend to rely on others when interacting with friends and

acquaintances. There were no items in Scenarios 2 or 4 that addressed the initiation of social activity.

Hypothesis 3: Will the extent to which members of a social network overlap be related to social anxiety?

Making new acquaintances and friends through existing friendships may be another way people can rely on their social network to better their social life. I expected that people higher in social anxiety would be more likely to report that their friends and new acquaintances know one another and were "overlapping" because it may be safer and easier to meet new people who are already connected to a preexisting social network. Conversely, less socially anxious people may be more willing and able to look outside of their immediate support system to meet new people. Items for each scenario asked participants to rank if new people they met were friends of their friends, friends of acquaintances, or someone that they nor their friends knew. Contrary to the hypothesis, for each of these three options following Scenarios 1, 2, and 3, social anxiety was not a predictor (all β's < .15). In the current survey, it does not appear that level of social anxiety relates to how much new friends and acquaintances are related to one's pre-existing social network. However, for all of the items that suggested that new acquaintances were some how related to present friends, the mean rank for all participants ranged from 1.46 to 1.91. Therefore, having new friends be connected to existing friends is common for most people, rather than just for socially anxious people.

Hypothesis 4: Will having friends accompany people to social events be related to social anxiety?

It was hypothesized that one way to utilize friends to make social situations more safe was to attend social gatherings when friends are present. Questions from two

scenarios addressed this hypothesis. For Scenario 3 for which participants recalled the last few times they attended a social event, participants ranked if they tended to (a) go with a group of friends (b) go with one friend (c) go alone and meet friends there or (d) go alone and meet new people. I expected that social anxiety would predict responses to choosing to go with a group of friends or friend in that the higher the social anxiety scores, the more likely people would rank those options as what they do most often. However, social anxiety was only a significant predictor for the item indicating that participants tended to go to social events with one friend, $\beta = .18$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and this relationship was in the opposite direction of what was expected. The other options were not predicted by social anxiety scores, all β's < .12. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported. It is unclear why people who are lower in social anxiety tended to rank that option as what they tend to do more often, particularly given that social anxiety was not related to the other items. It is difficult to decipher what this result implies given that it would appear that going with a friend should represent a more safe social strategy. In fact, in Bradshaw's (1998) work on shyness, a consistent result that he found was that shyness was positively correlated with "recruiting" friends to attend social events.

Scenario 4 examined if social anxiety might predict having friends present in a different setting: a classroom situation. Participants ranked what influenced how they registered for classes. Did they (a) purposely try to take classes with friends (b) purposely try to take classes that at least one friend was also taking (c) hope that friends were in their classes or were (d) unconcerned if friends were in their classes? Similar to Scenario 3 and inconsistent with predictions, social anxiety was not a significant predictor for any

of these items, all β's < .12. Thus, for all of the items associated with the school setting scenario, none were related to scores on social anxiety.

Finally, to address the safeness of a situation in another way, participants also responded to where they met most of their good friends. The options were supposed to represent locations or situations that are more versus less safe (i.e., a socially anxious person may prefer to meet new people at school or during an extracurricular activity versus a social activity). Perhaps, more structured and predictable situations are more appealing to people higher in social anxiety. However, social anxiety again did not predict rankings for these items, all β's < .13. For these three types of items assessing safeness of social interaction, whether it be having friends present at a party or in a class, or meeting people in a more structured social situation, social anxiety was not a good predictor.

Hypothesis 5: Do socially anxious versus nonanxious people rely more on their friends for social success?

One of the challenges of the present study was to differentiate how friends' involvement in social life for socially anxious people is a requirement for adequate social functioning, whereas for nonsocially anxious people it may be an added bonus to an already satisfying social life. To address this issue, several questions were included. After recalling recent situations in which they met potential dating partners, participants provided what percentage of time "they counted on friends to help them make the best impression on a new romantic interest" versus what percentage of time they "felt fine relying on themselves to make the best impression," (participants were directed to provide a percentage for both so that the two answers totaled 100%). Social anxiety was

marginally significant in predicting this item, $\beta = .15$, $\underline{p} < .10$, suggesting that those higher in social anxiety counted on their friends more often to make a good impression on a potential boyfriend or girlfriend, whereas those lower in social anxiety indicated they felt comfortable more often relying on themselves to meet potential dating partners.

Participants also provided percentages that totaled to 100% for an item asking, in the situations they recalled about meeting potential dating partners, what percentage of the time did they, "not have any information about the potential dating partner" versus "had some information." This item, however, was not predicted by social anxiety scores, $\beta = -.06$. Given the lack of results for the items assessing overlapping social networks, that social anxiety does not predict this item may not be surprising. It would seem that having information about a potential dating partner would suggest that a person is part of one's social network, and it was demonstrated that levels of social anxiety is not related to meeting people in or out of existing social networks.

Finally, at the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked why they generally prefer to have friends present at parties and social gatherings. Participants rated "it is typically more fun to have friends around," "it is easier to meet other people when friends are around," and "it seems less intimidating when friends are around" on a 1 (not at all characteristic of me) to 7 (very much characteristic of me) point scale. As predicted, social anxiety scores were only related to the question indicating that having friends at social gatherings is important because it makes those instances less intimidating, $\beta = .23$, $\underline{p}$ $<.05$, (all other β's $< .05$). The other items reflect what I thought both people low and high in social anxiety may extract from having friends present during social interaction;

more fun and the opportunity to extend one's social network. Thus, from the percentage item, and the general items assessing why friends' presence is important in social situations, there is a pattern that supports the notion that people who are higher in social anxiety regard the presence of their friends as relatively more of a necessity, whereas regardless of scores on social anxiety, friends make social interaction more fun and interesting.

Hypothesis 6: How does satisfaction with social life relate to social anxiety, and the presence of friends in social life?

Participants completed five items that assessed how satisfied they were with their social lives, friends, and social support. Previous research suggests that people high in social anxiety are typically less satisfied with their friends and social support (Jones & Carpenter, 1986; Montgomer et al., 1991). If the five items tapping satisfaction are combined to create a total satisfaction score ($\alpha = .81$), there was a negative relationship between social anxiety and satisfaction with social life, $\beta = -.22$, $\underline{p} < .05$. However, when analyzing the items separately an interesting pattern emerges. Out of the five items, two were predicted by scores on social anxiety: "How satisfied are you with your social life?" ($\beta = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .0001$), and "How satisfied are you with the number of friends you have?" ($\beta = -.20$, $\underline{p} < .05$). The items, "How satisfied are you with your closest friendships," and "How satisfied are you with the amount of support you receive from friends," were not related to scores on social anxiety (all β's $< .10$). The item, "How satisfied are you with your social network," was marginally predicted by social anxiety, $\beta = -.16$, $\underline{p} < .09$. This pattern would seem to suggest that the effects of satisfaction with friends and social

support stem from socially anxious people's disappointment with their social life and number of friends, rather than their relationships with close friends. In support of this idea, a split-plot analysis entering the two relationship satisfaction factors as repeated measures with social anxiety scores yielded a significant interaction, $F(1,119) = 6.02$, $p <$ .05. Using median splits of the social anxiety scores to illustrate, participants high in social anxiety rate the satisfaction with social life factor lower than the satisfaction with friends factor, whereas participants low in social anxiety did not differentiate between the two (Ms = 5.04 and 5.65 for high social anxiety participants for the social skills and close friend factors respectively, Ms = 5.72 and 5.90 for low social anxiety participants for the social skills and close friend factors respectively). Perhaps, in previous research, the negative relationship found between social anxiety and satisfaction with friends and social support was an artifact of socially anxious individuals desire to have a better social life, rather than actually feeling disappointed with their close relationships.

　　　In addition to investigating how satisfaction with friends relates to social anxiety, I hypothesized that satisfaction with friends, social life, and social support would be influenced by how much participants, particularly those high in social anxiety, relied on friends for help. Thus, I regressed social anxiety scores and the tendency to rely on friends and others to predict satisfaction with social life. Specifically, the items from each scenario that questioned how much people relied on friends or others to introduce them to people were centered and regressed (i.e., 8 items total) with participants' scores on social anxiety (which were also centered before being entered into analyses). An interaction term was created by multiplying these two predictors, thereby creating three predictors

that were regressed onto scores for total satisfaction with social life, as well as the scores for the two factors discussed earlier that differentiated satisfaction with social life versus satisfaction with close friends and social support. If relying on friends was a necessary and beneficial strategy for socially anxious participants but less so for nonsocially anxious participants, then it would be expected that social anxiety scores and use of friends or others would interact to predict satisfaction with friends and social life.

The only significant interactions between social anxiety and friend's involvement were found for Scenario 2. That is, the item indicating that people would call on friends to help meet a potential dating partner significantly interacted with social anxiety scores to predict satisfaction with friends, social support, and social network, $\beta = -.17$ (the interaction was not significant for predicting total satisfaction, or for predicting satisfaction with social life and number of friends). Using median splits to dissect the interaction, it appears that whereas participants higher in social anxiety experience higher levels of satisfaction with friends and social support when they rely on friends to help meet dating partners ($\underline{M}s = 6.00$ and 5.89, for high and low reliance groups, respectively), satisfaction for those low in social anxiety was not influenced by friends' involvement ($\underline{M}s = 6.00$ and 6.02, for high and low reliance groups, respectively). Because of this significant interaction, and to see if there was consistency in the findings for Scenario 2, I also regressed the scores from the percentage item indicating how much time participants counted on friends to help them make the best impression on a new romantic interest. A significant interaction was also found for social anxiety and this item for predicting total satisfaction, $\beta = .18$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and for predicting satisfaction with social life and number of

friends, $\beta = .19$, $\underline{p} < .05$. That is, when people higher in social anxiety felt they had to rely more on friends to help them meet dating partners, they were more satisfied with their social life and number of people in their social network ($\underline{M}$s = 5.64 and 5.41, for high and low reliance groups, respectively). Satisfaction for people lower in social anxiety again was less affected by what percentage of the time they relied on friends to impress a potential dating partner ($\underline{M}$s = 5.81 and 5.91, for high and low reliance groups, respectively). Therefore, in the dating realm, there is evidence that when socially anxious people reported relying on their friends more to meet romantic partners, they experience more satisfaction with social life, whereas for nonsocially anxious people, their satisfaction with social life is not related to relying on their friends.

Other variations of predictors that represent relying on friends and others did not result in significant interactions with social anxiety. For example, using the combined score of how often people relied on friends and others for each scenario separately yielded no significant interactions with social anxiety for predicting satisfaction. Similarly, using the measure of how characteristic it was of participants to rely on friends in general, there was no significant interaction with social anxiety to predict satisfaction. However, there was consistent evidence that in the dating realm, if socially anxious people rely on their friends more, they experience greater satisfaction with social life.

Ancillary Analyses Including Gender as a Predictor

Although separate predictions for gender of the participants were not made for Study 1, for all of the items that regression analyses were conducted, Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) including gender and social anxiety as a continuous factor were also

conducted. Gender, for the most part, did not influence the previously reported analyses. For all of the items in the four scenarios, there were five main effects of gender. For Scenario 1, for the item indicating where people tend to meet their close friends, males tended to indicate at social gatherings [$F(1,115) = 5.50$, $p < .05$], whereas females tend to indicate meeting friends at school [$F(1,117) = 4.88$, $p < .05$]. For Scenario 2, males tended to indicate that they introduce themselves more often than females when meeting potential dating partners [$F(1,117) = 4.59$, $p < .05$], and that if they wanted to meet a potential dating partner, males, more than females, would introduce themselves [$F(1,117) = 8.36$, $p < .05$]. For Scenario 3, males more than females indicated that when they were at social events, they would introduce themselves to strangers and start up a conversation with them, $F(1,117) = 5.09$, $p < .05$. Thus, most of the gender main effects reflect a gender stereotype in which males are expected to take more initiative during social interaction. Similarly, for significant interactions between gender and social anxiety, in Scenario 1, the item that indicated people tended to rely on a friend to meet others revealed that females high in social anxiety relied on friends more than those low in social anxiety, whereas high and low anxiety males did not differ, $F(1, 117) = 5.04$, $p < .05$. Also for Scenario 1, the item that indicated that participants waited for their new acquaintance to introduce him- or herself, high and low anxiety females did not differ on this item, whereas males high in social anxiety engaged in this behavior more than males low in social anxiety. $F(1,117) = 4.08$, $p < .05$. Thus, for the most part, the few gender effects seem to reflect male participants tendency to indicate that they prefer to take more initiative in their social lives, regardless of their levels of social anxiety.

<div align="center">Discussion</div>

Review of the Purpose of Study 1

       The survey study intended to explore if relying on friends to help navigate social life is a viable social strategy for people high in social anxiety, as well as to determine if and how people who are socially anxious rely on friends more in social life than people who are not socially anxious. It was hypothesized that because people high in social anxiety tend to utilize a cost-oriented protective self-presentation style, that having friends help navigate through social life may be one effective yet safe social strategy they can utilize. For people who are not socially anxious, although friends play an important positive role in their social lives, because nonsocially anxious people have many effective social strategies available to them, friends' help in social life is not a necessary component to successful social interactions.

Review of the Findings of Study 1

Hypothesis 1: Meeting new people

       Several different representations of how friends could be involved in the social lives of socially anxious people were suggested. All reflected the basic assumption that socially anxious people do not prefer to engage in acquisitive or risky self-presentation; due to fear of negative evaluation and social failure they do not take initiative in bettering their social lives. Friends, therefore, may in different ways take the initiative for them. The examples of having friends introduce socially anxious people to new acquaintances, having friends initiate social plans and conversation, extending one's network only through pre-existing friends, and having friends accompany socially anxious people to social events

were put forth as possible illustrations of how people can provide the groundwork for more assertive and rewarding social interactions for their friends. Although these categories would appear to be aspects of social interaction for which socially anxious people may experience deficits in comparison to nonsocially anxious people, and would thus require more help from friends, the results for how social anxiety related to these categories across the four types of scenarios presented a diverse pattern.

The example set forth that was most consistently related to social anxiety was when people recalled their behavior when meeting new people. In three out of the four scenarios, either the item indicating how much participants relied on friends, relied on others, or relied on themselves for introductions was related to scores on social anxiety. However, for relying specifically on friends, only when participants recalled meeting a potential dating partner did those higher in social anxiety indicate they relied more on friends' input than those lower in social anxiety. Friends seem to play a crucial role in situations when meeting others who could be romantic interests. This conclusion was further supported in the analyses that indicated that if people who are socially anxious report relying on their friends more in the dating realm, they experience greater satisfaction with social life.

Moreover, for introduction situations, when a difference score was calculated that represented relying on others in general (not only friends but other third parties present during the social interaction), three out of the four scenarios indicated that this item was predicted by social anxiety. Thus, people higher in social anxiety have a tendency to count on others (both friends and non-friends) to introduce them to new people, rather than to

rely on themselves. Perhaps this reflects the manner in which people high in social anxiety characteristically respond to social situations; they wait for others to speak, and when they do speak, conform to their interaction partners. In other words, socially anxious people by default may respond that they "take a backseat" and rely on others to initiate social activity (i.e., friends and strangers included).

Similarly, for the items that tapped how people generally approach social interaction (i.e., the items that did not refer participants to a specific scenario but asked them to instead characterize how they typically meet new people), social anxiety was only a predictor for taking initiative in social interaction. The items that indicated relying on friends and others was not related to scores on social anxiety. Moreover, when asking participants what they would do (versus what they did do) in a dating or party situation when faced with meeting new people, social anxiety predicted introducing oneself (those lower in social anxiety report introducing themselves more) and waiting for the new acquaintance to introduce him- or herself (those higher in social anxiety report waiting for others more). Thus, although there was not overwhelming evidence that socially anxious people rely on friends during social interaction, the survey was more consistent in demonstrating that socially anxious people do not prefer to rely on themselves when meeting new people. Relatively, this makes them more dependent on their friends and others, especially in more challenging social situations like dating.

For the items representing relying on friends and others to make introductions that social anxiety scores did predict, it may be noteworthy that they were only on items that asked participants to recall their behavior in recent social experiences. For the items

referring to generally considering what is characteristic of oneself, or what one would do in a situation, social anxiety predicted not taking initiative (but did not predict relying on others for help). As suggested previously, questions that ask people to rate themselves in general or predict their behavior may be more open to the negative cognitive biases associated with social anxiety. In fact, I purposely asked participants to recall actual events and behavior to lessen this bias. In other words, when visualizing actual events, socially anxious people may have been more likely to recall that friends and others were involved in the social interaction, whereas when they were abstractly recalling what they generally tended to do or would do, they may have more easily fallen back on a tendency to assume the worst from social interaction, including the belief that they did not have support from others.

Also, for the questions regarding introduction situations, the option to wait for the new acquaintance to introduce him- or herself was always included. Given that socially anxious people may tend to use this tactic during social interaction, particularly more than nonsocially anxious people, a more sensitive test of how friends and others help in these situations may have been to not include this option. Social interactions in which friends may play a crucial role for socially anxious people may be occasions when they can not fall back on waiting for the potential date or acquaintance to make contact.

Finally, despite not having overwhelming evidence that socially anxious people rely more on friends to meet new people than nonsocially anxious people, the average rankings for several of the friend options indicated that having friends involved in social life occurs most often for all participants. And although it is my proposal that people high versus low

in social anxiety rely on friends for different reasons, the fact that most people endorse having friends involved in social life indicates that it is a viable strategy for those high in social anxiety. Further, as will be discussed, other data provided evidence of how this important, involved role that friends play differs for people high and low in social anxiety.

Hypothesis 2: Initiation of social activity.

In addition to the example of meeting new people, for the other aspects of social interaction that were proposed, there was some consistency in how social anxiety related to items representing what tends to occur when people are already in friendships or engaged in conversation. That is, participants higher in social anxiety indicated they rely on friends to plan activities and engage conversation. It seems that when socially anxious people are with their established friends, they do count on those friends to be the "social planners." Perhaps, this is an effective strategy for socially anxious people when they have good friends on which to rely. That is, although waiting for others to initiate contact when meeting people may not be productive, in existing friendships, socially anxious people may develop a means of interacting with friends in which they tend to follow their friends' social lead rather than take the lead themselves.

As discussed earlier, also for this item, those lower in social anxiety indicated that they tended to endorse relying on themselves and their friends to initiate activity and conversation. Although this at first may seem contradictory to the predictions that people low in social anxiety would be more assertive in organizing social time, and would therefore would be less likely to indicate that they would share this responsibility with friends, the balance of relying on oneself and others may represent a well-adjusted

approach to social interaction. That is, people lower in social anxiety are able and willing to initiate social activity, but also realize the importance of letting others have a say or take the lead during social interaction.

Hypotheses 3 and 4: Overlap of social network and friends accompanying people to social events.

There were several other types of strategies that I intended to represent a more "safe" way of interacting with others that social anxiety did not predict. For example, having overlapping networks, so that new friends were related to existing networks, and meeting new friends and acquaintances in "safe" places like in a school setting were not related to social anxiety. However, the average ranks for these items suggest that these strategies are common for people, regardless of levels of social anxiety. Thus, especially for the age group who completed the survey, it may be rare for college students to go very far outside of their social circles to meet new people.

Finally, the strategy of having friends present during social events was not predicted by social anxiety. This was particularly surprising, given that one of Bradshaw's (1998) most consistent findings in his work on "social surrogates" was that shy more than non-shy people "recruit" friends to accompany them to parties and social gatherings. In his research, he asked participants to rate how characteristic it was of them to "not go to places where they do not know anyone unless they get a friend to go with them," to "get one person they knew to go with them when encountering a situation for the first time, and "get a friend to go to parties with them." Only the first two items were predicted by shyness in his study. It appears that those two items not only address wanting friends

present during social situations, but also wanting friends present in unfamiliar or more intimidating social situations. In the present study, participants were asked to think of parties they had recently attended and then indicate if friends went with them. Perhaps, this was more similar to Bradshaw's third item for which their was no effect for shyness. In other words, if socially anxious people are attending parties, they may know most or some of the people attending, and not feel that they need to arrive with a friend more so than nonsocially anxious people. Only when the situation is made more nerve-wracking (e.g., going to a party with unfamiliar people, or at an unfamiliar town), may socially anxious people require friends to go with them. Thus, the way we asked people to indicate needing friends present at a party may have not tapped into the type of recruitment Bradshaw (1998) suggested.

Hypothesis 5: How do socially and nonsocially anxious people rely differentially on friends?

Thus, for some examples, I was not able to differentiate how often socially versus nonsocially anxious people rely on friends. However, as highlighted earlier, one challenge in this research was to differentiate between how friends' involvement in social life differs for socially anxious versus nonsocially anxious people. I suspected that in terms of the amount of instances in which friends are involved, level of social anxiety may not always be a determinant because the presence of friends in social life is something most people experience and appreciate. In fact, the prevalence of friends in social situations was documented for several items that, although weren't related to scores on social anxiety, were typically ranked by most participants as what occurs most or more often in their social lives.

Despite the fact that on some items, participants high and low in social anxiety endorsed that friends are often present and involved in social experiences, the survey also provided evidence that the purpose friends serve in these situations is different for people high and low in social anxiety. Several items provided evidence that those higher in social anxiety consider friends' involvement as more of a necessity rather than an added bonus to social interaction. People who score higher in social anxiety reported that they prefer to have friends present during social interaction because they make the experience less intimidating, and they also indicate that they are less comfortable with relying on themselves to make a good impression on a potential dating partner. Social anxiety, however, was not related to the idea that having friends present makes social interaction more fun and interesting. Thus, the present study was able to show that, in some cases, for both socially and nonsocially anxious people, friends play in important role in social life, but, that the role that friends play has different meaning and repercussions for socially and nonsocially anxious people.

Hypothesis 6: Satisfaction with social life.

The willingness of people higher in social anxiety to endorse the notion that they do rely on friends to get through certain social situations, and that they rely on friends because it makes social life less intimidating, indicates another important factor in the present study. Although previous research suggests that people who are high in social anxiety are less satisfied with their friendships and social support (Jones & Carpenter, 1986; Montgomery et al., 1991), it would seem odd that people who in most instances report relying on friends would be less satisfied with those relationships. And, the results

for satisfaction with social life may shed light on this issue. Although overall, higher scores on social anxiety was related to less satisfaction with social life, when these items were analyzed separately, the items referring to satisfaction with friendship and social support were not predicted by social anxiety. Rather, the items reflecting satisfaction with social life and number of friends were predicted by social anxiety. This may suggest that when asked about their social life, it is important to differentiate for people high in social anxiety disappointment with their own social success, versus their feelings towards their friends. Further, this may also reinforce the notion that people who are high in social anxiety do have friends to rely on for help in social life.

Overall Patterns in the Data and Methodological Issues

Finally, one other pattern found in the present research may indicate an important consideration for investigating how socially anxious people deal with social life. Although I intended to combine items across the four scenarios, it was evident that the similar items across the scenarios tapped into different constructs for participants. Moreover, for items that represented similar strategies for social interaction, for some scenarios, social anxiety predicted the responses to those items, and in some scenarios they did not. For example, in the schools scenario, social anxiety had no relationship to how people handled their social relationships, whereas in a dating situation, social anxiety did differentiate how people relied on themselves and friends. Thus, it is evident that different types of social situations may elicit different responses from socially anxious people. Perhaps, in a school setting, socially anxious people are less limited by their social trepidations because it is a more structured setting. Further investigation into how these scenarios differ for people

high and low in social anxiety may indicate more specifically how socially anxious people interpret their social settings and utilize their social network accordingly.

Similarly, out of the four scenarios participants recalled, it appeared that the dating situation revealed the strongest differences between socially versus nonsocially anxious participants. That is, for this scenario, the most evidence for highly anxious people relying on friends was found. This may not be surprising, given that previous research has indicated that dating anxiety may be a more specific form of social anxiety, and that in romantic situations, social anxiety may be heightened (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). Particularly for college students, wanting to make a good impression on a potential date may elicit high levels of arousal for people who already doubt their social abilities. Further, for socially anxious people in dating situations, they may feel more comfortable having friends play a role. It may seem less odd to rely on same sex friends to meet potential dating partners, rather than meet new same sex friends. In fact, the only items that related social anxiety and reliance on friends to satisfaction with social life were ones that represented having friends involved in dating situations.

Of course, the lack of consistency amongst the scenarios may also be due to a methodological flaw in the study. The order in which participants were presented with scenarios was not counterbalanced. I ordered the scenarios in such a way that I thought would place the scenarios that may have the most impact at the beginning. However, the lack of effects for the last scenario or the inconsistency in effects across scenarios (i.e., the school scenario) could be an artifact of the order or scenario presentation. Although this possibility cannot be dismissed, the pattern that was found (i.e., most effects occurring in

the dating situation and the least effects occurring in the school situation) is consistent with literature about what types of situations have the greatest impact on socially anxious people.

<u>Conclusions</u>

The exploratory survey established that relying on friends in social life is a viable strategy for socially anxious people. For some aspects of social interaction it was found that people high in social anxiety do rely on friends and others more than people low in social anxiety. When meeting dating partners, for example, socially anxious people report relying on friends more, and needing to rely on friends to make a good impression. Or, when making plans with friends or conversing with acquaintances, socially anxious people will rely on others to initiate the social interaction. Analyses also indicate that people lower in social anxiety almost never report relying more on friends than people higher in social anxiety, although in some cases, both those low and high in ranked friends' involvement as a common feature of social interaction. Finally, as hypothesized, evidence was also found that supports the notion that help from friends for socially anxious people is more of a need rather than a positive presence in social life. Thus, for studies 2 and 3, attempting to identify in a laboratory situation what form help from friends can take for socially and nonsocially anxious people is justified. Further, for studies 2 and 3, the social situation in which participants are placed and need help is one in which they are meeting a potential romantic partner; the type of situation that from the present study evoked the most differentiated responses from people high versus low in social anxiety.

STUDY 2

Background

In addition to conceptualizing broadly how socially anxious people may utilize their social networks to help them cope with social life, I proposed that there is existing literature in impression management that provides a framework for examining one specific form of this type of social support. Specifically, beneficial impression management represents a tangible, yet subtle form of social support provided by close others to help friends in social situations that has already been documented to exist. It may represent a more specific type of surrogate strategy that not only provides socially anxious people a better chance at making a good impression on others, but also falls under the description of a safe and comfortable self-presentation strategy for socially anxious people. Study 2 investigates this more specific form of social help.

Beneficial Impression Management

Schlenker and his colleagues (Schlenker & Britt, 1999, in press; Schlenker, Britt, & Pennington, 1996; Schlenker & Pontari, 2000) presented a type of impression management that was intended to broaden the focus of what types of activities could be considered impression management. That is, their intent was to demonstrate how engaging in strategic activity can be utilized for the purpose of helping others manage their impressions. Labeled beneficial impression management, it refers to any strategic activity

or control of information that people engage in that benefits someone other than themselves. In other words, people will go to efforts to express information that presents close other's identities in their best possible light. This does not refer to friends simply describing how positively they feel about their friends, but represents activity that is strategically implemented in response to a friend's social need.

In several experiments, this type of strategic social support for friends has been demonstrated. People will describe their same sex friends to an attractive potential dating partner as being just like the ideal friend preference of that potential suitor, but will describe their friends opposite of the ideal friend preference of an unattractive potential suitor (Schlenker & Britt, 1999). Similarly, dating partners will describe each other to an attractive potential same sex friend in accordance with that potential friend's ideal friend preference (Pontari & Schlenker, 2001). Further, much like how people manage their own impressions, people will go to lengths to redeem a friend's image to an important evaluator after they have failed, but will make sure they describe that friend on dimensions that are not relevant to their failure (Schlenker & Britt, 1999). Thus, for different types of relationships and in different social situations, there is evidence that people will respond to a friend's impression management needs by activity controlling the information they express to help that friend come across as appropriately as possible.

This type of involvement in others' self-presentations may be even more relevant for socially anxious people. Perhaps, if socially anxious people know their friends are helping them manage their impressions, they will feel more at ease during social interaction, and will feel like they are more capable of meeting their self-presentation

goals. Or, knowing that a friend is there to put in a good word or make the first introduction provides a "safe" start to other potential social relationships. For socially anxious people, friends making impressions for them may be a safe yet effective means for coming across more positively to others. Whereas nonsocially anxious people may appreciate and benefit from this type of help from friends, they of course have several other strategies to rely on to reach their self-presentation goals. Therefore, whereas beneficial impression management represents one safe, effective, and perhaps needed strategy for socially anxious people, for nonsocially anxious people it represents an added bonus to their already effective self-presentation repertoire. Thus, although beneficial impression management is a form of social support available for socially and nonsocially anxious people, the way this help is provided, and the purpose it serves, may differ for the two groups. The following sections outline what factors may be important in differentiating (a) how people who are socially versus nonsocially anxious respond to beneficial impression management, and (b) how friends of socially versus nonsocially anxious people engage in beneficial impression management. These issues will be addressed in Study 2.

Differences in Beneficial Impression Management for Socially and Nonsocially Anxious
  People: Factors to Consider for the Recipient of the Support .

What types of impressions will people want their friends to make for them? Pontari and Schlenker (2001) found evidence that people tend to like friends who either exaggerate or blatantly lie about their qualities if it means making a better impression on someone they would like to impress. In a scenario study, participants read about friends

who, when given the opportunity to describe a close friend to someone whom the friend found interesting and attractive, either told the truth, which resulted in the friend making a less than desirable impression, or exaggerated the truth or blatantly lied about the friend, which both resulted in the friend making a more desirable impression on the attractive other. Although participants respected the actions of the truth-telling friend, they liked the friend who exaggerated and lied, and even stated that they would prefer that type of person for a friend. Thus, it appears that people, in general, would prefer friends to present them to important others in a positive light, even it means stretching the truth about the person's true qualities.

Will socially anxious people have the same preference? As discussed earlier, in order for help from social networks to be an effective self-presentation strategy, it must be construed as "safe" from the perspective of the socially anxious person. Although people high in social anxiety may need their friends to help them do well socially, they may not want their friends to present them so positively that they set up unrealistic expectations for them. If the purpose of sharing information with a third party about a socially anxious friend is to make the friend feel more capable of making an appropriate impression, setting a standard for the friend that they see as unreachable may backfire. Research in how socially anxious people respond to successful performance may lend support to this argument. When socially anxious people are given positive or success feedback about their social skills, it creates more stress and anxiety for an upcoming social interaction, and can actually impede performance in those interactions (Wallace & Alden, 1995; 1997). Thus, instead of painting them in a perfect light, socially anxious people may prefer

descriptions of them that are more realistic. How might a friend accomplish this? Perhaps, when describing a socially anxious friend to a third party, people could focus on their non-social strengths (e.g., intellectual abilities, creative talents, and so on). Or, they could present their friend positively on qualities about which the friend felt comfortable or confident. In any case, it is important to keep in mind that in order for a self-presentation strategy to be effective for socially anxious people, they must construe that strategy as "safe."

This is not to say that socially anxious people would prefer a description from their friends that is consistent with their negative self-view. The debate concerning whether people prefer others to see them in a more positive manner (the self-enhancement viewpoint) or in a manner consistent with their self-beliefs (the self-consistency or self-verification viewpoint) is well-documented in the literature (Sedikides,1993; Swann, 1990; Swann, Pelham, & Krull, 1989). One area of this debate that has brought the most controversy is the notion that people who have a negative view of themselves (e.g., those who have low self-esteem or those who are socially anxious) will seek and prefer information from others that verifies this undesirable self-concept. I am not suggesting that people who are socially anxious would prefer their friends to paint a negative picture of them to others. This would defeat the purpose of using beneficial impression management as an effective social strategy. Rather, a balance must be struck between an enhancing yet believable presentation. Lake and Arkin (1985) illustrate this problem for socially anxious people in that they found that participants who are high in social anxiety responded more positively on measures of affect after receiving success rather than failure

feedback on a task, but these same participants also doubted the accuracy of that positive feedback. Thus, whereas people low in social anxiety would want their friends to present the most flattering view of them to others, in order for beneficial impression management to actually help those high in social anxiety, their friends may need to provide portrayals that are more in line with their actual abilities.

Another factor to consider in maintaining the "safeness" of beneficial impression management for socially anxious people is the level of trust and experience they have with the friend who would be speaking on their behalf. In order for socially anxious people to believe that their friend's input will be helpful, and will not be too overly positive so as to set them up for failure, they may need to have a certain level of closeness and understanding with the friend. Perhaps, socially anxious people who express strong feelings for their friend will believe that the friend is aware of their strengths and weaknesses, and that the friend will focus his or her descriptions of them around their non-social strengths. Nonsocially anxious people, however, may be relatively amenable to having even distant acquaintances share information about them with others.

The research already conducted in beneficial impression management has focused on the actions of the friend providing the impression for a close other. What has not been investigated is how recipients of such help respond to that support. As alluded to thus far in this section, for socially anxious people, friends helping them to present positive images to others may be one of few (or any) effective strategies available to them. Thus, support from friends via beneficial impression management may represent a necessary form of support for socially anxious people. Specifically, by having friends lay the social

groundwork for them, socially anxious people may experience a reduction in nervousness and doubt about their self-presentations, thereby allowing them to perform better socially. For nonsocially anxious people, one would expect that although the help of friends complements and improves their social life, it is not a necessary component of their self-presentation strategies. Bradshaw (1998), for example, in his research on social surrogates, found that whereas shy people recruited friends for social activities more often to relieve stress, non-shy people recruited friends because they "add to the fun." Therefore, during social interactions, when friends' help through beneficial impression management is available, socially anxious people may report a drop in nervousness, whereas nonsocially anxious people may increase their already positive feelings about the interaction.

To recap, from the perspective of the recipient of the support, factors to consider for socially anxious versus nonsocially people are: (a) the types of impressions that would be considered helpful (i.e, safe versus enhancing presentations), (b) the importance of friendship strength in feeling comfortable with the impressions that friends convey to others, and (c) the benefits that are experienced from having friends help manage impressions.

Differences in Beneficial Impression Management for Socially and Nonsocially Anxious People: Factors to Consider for the Providers of Support.

Thus far, the influence of social anxiety on the response and needs of the recipient of beneficial impression management has been the focus. One might ask given the reputation of people high in social anxiety, would their friends be able or willing to make a

good impression for them? In other words, do friends of people who doubt their social abilities hesitate to help their friends in social situations? For nonsocially anxious people, friends are willing to describe them to a potential new friend or dating partner as being very extraverted or very introverted, depending on this third party's ideal friend preferences, and depending on if the friend wants to make a desirable impression on this person. Imagine the situation in which a socially anxious person would like to make a good impression on someone who values extraverted qualities. It may be the case that in this situation, friends would not describe the socially anxious person as very extraverted and not very introverted, or as extraverted as friends on nonsocially anxious people. Friends of socially anxious people may be more likely to temper their descriptions of their friends so as not to set their friend up for failure, or provide a description that is blatantly untruthful. Friends of socially anxious people may thus compromise between speaking highly yet realistically of their friends by going out of their way to endorse the strengths and qualities that their friend holds outside of the social realm, but not describing them positively on social qualities that the friend does not possess.

Further, some of the previous beneficial impression management research found that friendship strength as expressed by the person providing the impression for the friend, influences whether or not that person responds to the social needs of their friends (Schlenker & Britt, in press). When examining friends of socially anxious people, friendship may not only influence if they engage in beneficial management, but also if they provide an impression that is agreeable or most beneficial to the friend for whom they are making the impression. In order to be able to provide the "safe" yet flattering description

of a socially anxious friend, it may require some in-depth knowledge of or experience with the friend. On the other hand, if people care a great deal about their socially anxious friends, and perhaps do not see their social inadequacies, they may describe their friends much like people who are describing friends who are not intimidated by social interactions.

Experimental Overview

Study 2 examined a more specific form of social help for socially anxious people: beneficial impression management. Study 2 included two separate experiments so that the perspectives of the recipient and the provider of beneficial impression management could be investigated simultaneously. The purpose of these studies was to examine the factors outlined in the previous section describing how beneficial impression management will differ for people high versus low in social anxiety. For people receiving help through beneficial impression management, will people high in social anxiety benefit more from their friends' help and will the benefits experienced from this help depend upon if the help is "safe"? For people providing help through beneficial impression management, will friends of people high in social anxiety be willing to describe them as positively to a third party as friends of people low in social anxiety? People who are very high and very low in social anxiety were recruited and asked to bring a close friend with them to the session. Recruited participants and their friends read that we are interested in examining the acquaintanceship process and how friends can be involved when people are meeting for the first time. One of them would have an interaction with another participant whom they did not know, while the other would have the opportunity to describe his or her friend to that other participant.

Participants

Participants who scored in the bottom and top tertiles of Leary's Social Anxiety Scale (1983) were recruited over the phone to participate. One-hundred twenty six students (81 females and 45 males) from Introductory Psychology classes participated. Each participant brought a same-sex friend with them to the session, thus for each separate experiment, there were 126 possible participants. The person for whom social anxiety scores were known was the discussant or the person who would have the interaction, and the friend of this person was always the associate, or the person who would provide the impression for the friend.

To ensure that participants who arrived at the lab were friends, at the end of the session, all participants completed Rubin's Liking and Loving Scales (1973) about the person with whom they came to the experiment. These scales are reliable measure of friendship strength and intimacy. Twelve items measured liking ($\alpha = .89$) and ten items measured loving ($\alpha = .94$). An example item from the liking scale includes, "I think my friend is unusually well-adjusted,"and an example item from the loving scale includes, "It would be hard from me to get along without my friend." Participants rated all items on a 1 to 9 scale with 1 = "not at all true" and 9 = "definitely true." Although the liking and loving scales represent two separate measures, they were highly correlated, $\underline{r} = .72$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. Therefore, we created one friendship strength score by combining the scores from the liking and loving measures ($\alpha = .95$). Analyzing the data with the scales separately did not yield any additional information. Using all 22 items, scores could range from 9 to 198, with higher scores indicating stronger friendship.

The friendship strength scores were significantly correlated between the discussants and the associates, $r = .47$ $p < .0001$. For the discussants, the mean friendship score was 143.21 (Sd = 28.71), and scores ranged from 44 to 197. For the associates, the mean friendship score was 142.29 (Sd = 30.60), and scores ranged from 63 to 196. Moreover, for both the discussants' and associates' friendship strength scores, there was no difference for the participants who were recruited who were high or low in social anxiety, (both F's < 1.1). In other words, there were no systematic differences in friendship strength due to the level of social anxiety of the discussants for either the discussants themselves or the friends that came with the discussants to the session.

General Procedure

When participants arrived for the study, they read the same overview (Appendix D) that indicated we were investigating how people develop acquaintanceships and how friends can be involved in this process. At this point, participants believed that one of them would be playing the role of the "associate" and would provide information about their friend, while the other would play the role of a "discussant" and would have an interaction with another person participating in the session. After reading the overview and signing the informed consent (Appendix E), the procedures for the associate and the discussant were not related. Participants did not interact with each other from this point on, nor were any of the materials they read or completed shown to each other. As such, the method, hypotheses, and results for the discussant's behavior (i.e., the recipient of the support) and the associate's behavior (i.e., the provider of the support) are discussed separately.

The Discussant - Experiment 1

Participants

Of the 126 participants recruited, several had to be deleted from analyses. Six students had participated in other experiments investigating beneficial impression management that were similar in nature to the present study. This experience would have revealed the true purpose of the present study, so these participants were not included in analyses. One student expressed at the end of the session that she was not true friends with the person whom she brought to the session (she had just met the other person directly before the session began), and was thus removed from analyses. The data for the person she brought to the session was also not included in analyses for the associate's part of the study. Finally, one student for whom English was a second language did not understand the instructions, and was thus deleted from analyses, thereby leaving 118 participants (her partner was included in analyses).

Procedure

The purpose of the discussant's portion of the study was to investigate the effects that friends' involvement through beneficial impression management has on behavior, and to determine if these outcomes are different for people who are low versus high in social anxiety. Moreover, we examined to what extent creating a "safe" impression is necessary for socially anxious people to benefit from their friend's help.

Discussants believed we were interested in examining how friends can be involved when people are getting to know one another. They read that they would have an interaction with a member of the other sex (see Appendix F for instructions) and that their

friend would provide information about them to this other person through a questionnaire. Thus, their friend would have the opportunity to describe them to their interaction partner before they met with him or her. They then read that one aspect of this phenomena that we were interested in is how people often tell their friends what they want them to say when they are talking about them to third parties (see Appendix G for instructions). Specifically, participants were told that we were investigating what happens if friends have or do not have this type of information. Thus, they were given the opportunity to complete a questionnaire (Appendix H) indicating the types of information they wanted their friend to share with the other discussant. After completing the questionnaire, participants believed that their descriptions of what they wanted their friend to say would (safe help) or would not (unsafe help) be shown to their friend. This manipulation was designed to make participants think their friend would or would not have a clear idea of how they wanted to appear, and therefore would be more or less able to provide a desired, safe description.

Next, directly before discussants believed they would have their interaction, they were informed by the experimenter that either (a) due to time constraints, their friend would not have the opportunity to share information with their interaction partner, or that (b) their friend was in the process of completing the information that would be shown to their interaction partner. Thus, participants believed that their friend would (help condition) or would not (no help condition) share information about them to the other discussant. At this point, participants completed dependent measures (Appendix J) that assessed their level of nervousness and anticipation of the interaction, as well as questions

that measured their response and opinions of their friends' actions. They then completed

manipulation checks (Appendix K), and afterwards were informed that they would not be

having the interaction with the participant. At this point, they completed Rubin's Liking

and Loving Scales (1973), and were then be debriefed (Appendix L).

The design of the study was a 2 (social anxiety level of the discussant: high versus

low) x 3 (help from friend: safe help, unsafe help, no help) design. Note that all of the

participants in the no help condition were assigned to the unsafe condition, thus, before

they were informed that their friend was not going to have the opportunity to help them,

they also believed their friend did not see the Information Interaction Form.

Results

Procedural checks

Participants responded to two questions that addressed the role that they and their

friend played in the session. All but one participant responded correctly to the questions

stating, "You are playing the role of the _____ in today's session," and "Your friend

is playing the role of the _____ in today's session," with responses being associate,

discussant, or experimenter. This participant was still included in analyses because

deleting his data did not alter the results for the main hypotheses, and it was evident to the

experimenter that the participant understood his role in the experiment. All participants

responded correctly to a question addressing with whom they would have a short

interaction.

To ensure that the manipulations of help and the safeness of help were effective,

participants responded to two questions. One question provided participants with the

stem, "Your friend," with the choice of two responses, "will NOT share information with the discussant with whom you will interact," or "will share information with the discussant with whom you will interact." The other question provided participants with the stem, "Your friend," with the choice of two responses, "was able to view the information you completed indicating the types of things you would like him or her to share with the discussant," or "was NOT able to view the information you completed indicating the types of things you would like him or her to share with the discussant." If participants responded incorrectly to these items, to ensure that they understood the question, experimenters reiterated the questions verbally to the participants and enabled them to verbally alter their answer. Two participants responded incorrectly to one or both of the manipulation checks after being requestioned by the experimenter. Because these participants did not appear to understand the critical manipulations of the experiment, they were excluded from analyses, thereby leaving 116 participants (although removing them from the major analyses did not alter the results).

Hypothesis 1: Benefits experienced via reductions in nervousness.

The main purpose of this study was to demonstrate that the benefit gained from receiving beneficial impression management by friends would be a reduction in nervousness, particularly for people high in social anxiety. Participants completed measures assessing levels of nervousness directly before they believed they would interact with the other discussant. I expected that socially anxious participants would experience less nervousness when they received help, but only when they believed this help was "safe." Although participants low in social anxiety were also expected to benefit from

their friends' help by a reduction in nervousness, this reduction was not expected to be influenced by the safeness of the help, and it was expected to be a less dramatic drop in nervousness than that experienced by participants high in social anxiety.

Directly before they thought they would meet with their other sex interaction partner, participants rated themselves on 16 traits that described "how they felt right now" on a scale ranging from 1 ("not at all describes") to 7 ("very much describes"). Four of the 16 items made up an a priori measure of nervousness that included the traits: worried, anxious, nervous, and relaxed (the last item was reverse-scored, $\alpha = .85$). Participants also rated themselves on another 16 traits that described "how they thought they would come across during the interaction" on the same 1 to 7 scale. From these items, four comprised a second measure of nervousness and included the traits: anxious, nervous, comfortable, and relaxed (the last two items were reverse-scored, $\alpha = .80$). For these two measures of nervousness, 2 (social anxiety: high versus low) by 3 (help condition: safe help, unsafe help, no help) by 2 (gender: male versus female) ANOVAs were conducted. No effects for gender, either alone or in interaction with the other factors were found, and so gender was dropped from the analyses. Contrary to the hypotheses, for both nervousness measures there was no interaction between the help conditions and social anxiety (all $\underline{F}$'s < 1). A main effect of social anxiety was found for how nervous participants felt at that moment, $\underline{F}(2,110) = 71.17$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, and how nervous they expected to feel during the interaction, $\underline{F}(2,110) = 66.74$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, indicating that participants high in social anxiety were more nervous ($\underline{M} = 4.22$) and expected to be more nervous during the interaction ($\underline{M} = 3.92$) than participants low in social anxiety ($\underline{M}s =$

2.49 and 2.50, for how nervous participants felt at that moment and expected the would feel during the upcoming interaction, respectively). Receiving help from friends, either safe or unsafe, did not impact socially anxious or nonanxious participants.

Of the 32 traits on which participants rated themselves, several pertained to characteristics other than nervousness that could also be influenced by the help manipulations (i.e., attractive, outgoing). For example, although socially anxious participants did not report that they would feel less nervous if they had a friend making a "safe" impression for them, they may have thought they would make a better impression on their interaction partner and rated themselves higher on traits like attractive and outgoing. To assess these other items, a factor analysis was conducted on the two sets of 16 traits (i.e., how the participants felt at that moment, and how they thought they would come across).

For the characteristics of how participants "felt right now", using Cattell's scree test in a principal components analysis, a four-factor solution was found (all four factors had Eigenvalues greater than 1). A varimax rotation of the four factors revealed three measures that may pertain to participants making a good impression on their interaction partner[2]: reservedness ($\alpha = .80$, including traits reserved, quiet, sad, talkative, and outgoing with the last two reverse-scored), positiveness ($\alpha = .76$, including the traits excited, hopeful, enthusiastic, and friendly), and upset (including the traits mad and upset,

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[2]One of the four factors represented a measure of nervousness. It contained the items nervous, anxious, confident, relaxed, and shy, four of which made up the a priori measure. To avoid redundancy in analyses, the results for this item are not reported.

α=.31). 3-way ANOVAs were conducted on these measures to investigate if the help conditions may have impacted these other types of feelings that could relate to success in the social interaction. However, these analyses also revealed main effects of social anxiety only, $\underline{F}$'s = 55.41, and 27.18, all $\underline{p}$'s < .0001, for the measures of reservedness and positiveness respectively (there were no significant effects for the upset measure). Participants high in social anxiety felt more reserved ($\underline{M}$ = 3.67), and less positive ($\underline{M}$ = 3.79) than participants low in social anxiety, ($\underline{M}$s = 2.37, and 4.78, for the three measures, respectively). Like the measures of nervousness, the type of help received did not influence the self-reports of socially or nonsocially anxious participants. Rather, only levels of social anxiety determined how reserved and positive participants felt before their interaction.

A factor analysis was also conducted on the characteristics measuring how participants thought they would come across during the interaction. Using Cattell's scree test in a principal components analysis, a four-factor solution was found (all four factors had Eigenvalues greater than 1). A varimax rotation of the factors revealed three new measures[3]: extraversion, (α = .91, including the traits outgoing, talkative, extraverted, looking forward to the interaction, quiet, reserved, and shy, with the last three reverse-scored), attractiveness (α = .70, including the traits attractive and impressive), and likableness (α = .75, including the traits friendly and likable).

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[3] One of the four factors represented a measure of nervousness. It contained the items nervous, anxious, awkward, confident, relaxed, and comfortable, four of which made up the a priori measure. To avoid redundancy in analyses, the results for this item are not reported.

For these measures, 3-way ANOVAS including social anxiety, type of help, and gender as factors revealed patterns similar to those found for the dependent measures previously described. For all three factors, main effects of social anxiety were found, $\underline{F}$'s = 119.46, 12.16, and 16.93 (all $\underline{p}$'s < .001) for extraversion, attractiveness, and likeableness, respectively. Participants high in social anxiety believed they would appear less extraverted ($\underline{M}$ = 3.76), less attractive ($\underline{M}$ = 3.51), and less likable ($\underline{M}$ = 5.01) than participants low in social anxiety, ($\underline{M}$s = 5.65, 4.27, and 5.70 for the three measures respectively). The only other significant effect for these measures was a main effect of help for the attractiveness factor, $\underline{F}(2,115)$ = 4.87, $\underline{p}$ < .01. Tukey's post hoc comparisons revealed that the participants who received no help indicated they would come across as more attractive ($\underline{M}$=4.31) than participants in the safe help condition ($\underline{M}$ = 3.47), p < .05. The unsafe condition ($\underline{M}$ = 3.89) did not differ from either the no help or safe help condition, p > .05.

Contrary to predictions, the manipulations of type of help did not affect either socially anxious or nonsocially anxious participants feelings at the moment before they were to meet their interaction partner. I expected that safe help would benefit socially anxious participants, and both safe and unsafe help would benefit nonsocially anxious participants. However, for socially and nonsocially anxious participants, knowing their friends had the opportunity to share information about them to their interaction partner had no impact on nervousness levels. Not only did the type of help not matter, but, receiving versus not receiving help did not seem to influence participants' self-reports about how they felt before the interaction. The only factor that affected participants'

reactions to the upcoming interaction was their level of social anxiety. As characteristic of socially anxious people, they indicated they were more nervous, more reserved, and less positive, and thought they would come across as less extraverted, attractive, and likable than nonsocially anxious participants. Unfortunately, knowing their friend was going to speak on their behalf to the other discussant did not help to lessen these relatively negative reactions to the impending interaction.

<u>Hypothesis 2: Perception of help</u>.

The main prediction – that participants high in social anxiety would be less nervous in the safe help condition than the unsafe help condition – was based on the premise that the safe help condition offered an opportunity for receiving identity support without the risk of inflated claims or expectations. Therefore, the safe versus unsafe help condition should have been perceived as more beneficial to participants high in social anxiety. Participants completed three items that assessed how beneficial they thought their friend's input to the other discussant would be. On scales ranging from 1 to 7, participants rated how they "thought having their friend share information with the discussant" would "benefit them" (with 1 being not at all, and 7 being very much), would "make the interaction awkward versus comfortable" (with 1 being very awkward and 7 being very comfortable), and would "make the interaction more difficult versus easy" (with 1 being difficult and 7 being easy). This measure was reliable, $\alpha = .80$.

I expected that people high in social anxiety would perceive the safe help condition as more beneficial than the unsafe help condition, whereas people low in social anxiety would not perceive the safe and unsafe help differently. For participants who believed that

their friend would not have the opportunity to meet with the other discussant (i.e., the no help condition), the experimenter verbally told them to complete the questions as if their friend was going to share information with the discussant. Therefore, for the no help condition, participants' responses for these items were not comparable to those in the safe and unsafe conditions. Whereas participants in the safe and unsafe conditions were rating help they thought they received, participants in the no help condition imagined the type of help their friend would have provided, which may have given no help participants more leeway in interpreting if their friends' help was more or less safe. In other words, there is no measure that can assess if participants viewed having their friends' help versus not having their friends' help as differentially beneficial to their upcoming interaction. Therefore, to examine perception of the help as a dependent measure, participants in the no help condition were not included in analyses[4].

A 3-way ANOVA including social anxiety, type of the help (help and unsafe conditions only), and gender was conducted on how beneficial participants perceived their friends' help, but revealed no significant effects, (all $\underline{F}$'s < 1.13). Because it appears that participants did not perceive safe and unsafe help as differentially beneficial, it may be the case that the manipulation of safeness did not capture what socially anxious people would consider as beneficial help. Knowing that their friends had or did not have information about what they wanted them to share with their interaction partner did not affect how much they believed their friend's descriptions of them would help during the interaction.

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[4]Analyses including the no help condition were also conducted for perceptions of help but did not yield different results.

It may not be surprising, then, that the levels of help did not influence the participants' reports of nervousness.

Although the manipulations of help did not cause participants to view the help as more or less beneficial, the participants' scores on perception of help provide a means to assess which help they did view as useful. If the essence of the main hypothesis was that socially anxious people would experience a drop in nervousness when they received help from friends - dependent upon viewing that help as beneficial - then another way to test the hypothesis is to use participants' perception of help as a predictor. A drop in nervousness would be expected, then, for socially anxious but not for nonsocially anxious participants when they viewed their friend's help as more beneficial, regardless of the manipulations of help. Thus, one possibility is that the perceptions of help alone will influence participants' response to their friend's help.

Another possibility is that the manipulation of safeness and the perception of help interact to influence participants' responses. Although the manipulations of help did not cause participants to view safe and unsafe help as differentially beneficial, the manipulation checks do indicate that participants understood what occurred in each experimental condition. They knew their friend either did or did not view the questionnaire they completed that indicated the type of information they wanted to discuss with their interaction partner. Therefore, participants may have been affected by this manipulation, just not in the way that was intended. For example, providing information to a friend about what to say to the other discussant may have made participants feel they had some control over the interaction. Particularly for socially anxious people, when they believed

their friend had guidelines as to what to convey to the other discussant, they may have felt they could better predict what would occur during the interaction, which might lessen the apprehension they felt. It may be appropriate, then, to include the safe condition in an analysis with perceptions of how beneficial participants viewed the help. If the manipulations of help did impact participants (i.e., they felt like they had more control in the safe condition), these responses could interact with perceptions of how beneficial the help was to influence levels of nervousness.

To address these issues, a 2 (social anxiety) by 2 (help: save versus unsafe only) x 2 (gender) ANOVA with participants' perceptions of how beneficial the help was as a continuous factor was conducted on nervousness. Scores for perception of help were centered before they were entered into analyses. To streamline analyses, the two measures of nervousness presented previously were combined to form one measure that included eight items, $\alpha = .73$. No effects for gender, either alone or in interaction with the other factors were found, and so gender was dropped from the analyses.

In support of the possibility that perceptions of help alone would influence nervousness and do so differently for high and low anxiety participants, a marginal 2-way interaction of social anxiety and perceptions of help was found, $F(1,72) = 3.54, p < .07$. However, this 2-way interaction was qualified by the 3-way interaction of social anxiety, type of help, and perception of help, $F(1,72) = 19.68, p < .0001$. Thus, the impact of the manipulation of help interacted with perceptions of help to differentially affect socially and nonsocially anxious participants' response to the upcoming interaction. To dissect this interaction, high and low perceived benefit groups were created using median splits on the

scores for the three items measuring perceptions of help. On a 7-point scale, with higher numbers indicating more perceived benefit, means for the high and low benefit group were 5.81 and 4.24, respectively.

Means for the 3-way interaction using the median splits for perception of help into high and low perceived benefit groups are presented in Table 1. Although the no help condition was not included in this analysis, the overall means for nervousness for the socially and nonsocially anxious participants in this condition can be used as a baseline to compare the safe and unsafe conditions. Despite the fact that participants' scores for perception of help in the no help condition are not comparable to the other conditions, their nervousness scores can be used to gauge if participants' levels of nervousness in the safe and unsafe conditions are less or greater than those who received no help.

To dissect the interaction, simple effects were conducted using the error term from the initial analysis in which perception of help was entered as a continuous variable. Supporting the idea that socially anxious participants would in general be affected by how beneficial they viewed their friend's help, simple effects tests revealed a significant simple effect of perception of help, $F(1,72) = 4.23$, $p < .05$. Socially anxious participants who viewed their friend's help as more beneficial experienced less nervousness than people who viewed the help as less beneficial ($\underline{M}s = 3.95$ and 4.41, for the high and low benefit groups, respectively). Conversely, for participants low in social anxiety, there was no significant simple effect of perception of help, $\underline{F} < 1$, $\underline{p} > .05$, indicating that overall, their reactions to the interaction were not influenced by their perceptions of help ($\underline{M}s = 3.10$ and 3.06 for the high and low benefit conditions, respectively). As indicated by the

Table 1

Means for Overall Nervousness by Level of
Social Anxiety, Help Condition, and Perception of Help

	High Social Anxiety		Low Social Anxiety	
	High Benefit	Low Benefit	High Benefit	Low Benefit
Safe Help	3.56	4.72	3.51	2.70
Unsafe Help	4.34	4.10	2.68	3.42
Baseline	4.04		3.03	
(No Help)				

Note: Scores can range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more nervousness.

significant 3-way interaction, however, these effects were qualified by the type of help received. That is, for participants high and low in social anxiety, the simple interactions of perception of help and type of help were significant, $F(1,72) = 9.73$, $p < .01$, and $F(1,72) = 10.82$, $p < .01$ (for high and low social anxiety participants, respectively). However, how these two factors combined to influence nervousness was very different for high and low social anxiety participants. Specifically, for participants high in social anxiety, in the safe help condition, they experienced significantly less nervousness when they perceived the help as more versus less beneficial, $F(1,72) = 14.34$, $p < .01$, whereas in the unsafe help condition, nervousness did not change depending on perceived benefit of help, $F<1$. This indicates that although the perception of help is key in lowering nervousness for socially anxious participants, interpreting friends' help as beneficial only resulted in less nervousness when the help provided was safe. Thus, the manipulation of help did impact socially anxious participants' responses.

For participants low in social anxiety, although at the outset of the study it was believed they would be less affected by type of help and perceptions of help, both factors influenced their levels of nervousness, and in different ways than for nonsocially anxious participants. Specifically, for low social anxiety participants in the safe condition, their level of nervousness was also influenced by perceptions of help, but in the opposite direction, $F(1,72) = 5.71$, $p < .05$. Those in the high benefit group reported more nervousness than those in the low benefit group. For participants low in social anxiety, their perceptions of help also influenced nervousness in the unsafe condition, $F(1,172) = 5.21$, $p < .05$. Those in the high perceived benefit group expressed less nervousness than

those in the low benefit group. Thus, perceptions of help within the safe and unsafe conditions also influenced participants low in social anxiety, although in a different manner than participants high in social anxiety.

The difference in the response of high and low social anxiety participants to type and perceptions of help is further demonstrated in the simple effects at each level of perception of help. For both the high and low benefit groups, there were significant interactions between social anxiety and type of help, $\underline{F}(1,72) = 11.29$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and $\underline{F}(1,72) = 9.27$, $\underline{p} < .05$, for the high and low benefit groups respectively. In the high benefit group, the simple effects of help were significant for socially anxious and nonsocially participants, $F(1,72) = 5.06$, $p < .05$, $F(1,72) = 6.31$, $p < .05$ (for socially and nonsocially anxious participants, respectively), although these effects were in the opposite directions. For participants high in social anxiety, safe beneficial help yielded less nervousness than unsafe beneficial help, whereas for participants low in social anxiety, safe beneficial help yielded more nervousness than unsafe beneficial help. Notice for both groups that the means for nervousness that were the lowest in the high benefit group (i.e., safe help for socially anxious participants and unsafe help for nonsocially anxious participants) were also lower than the baseline for nervousness.

For participants in the low perceived benefit condition, the simple effects for socially and nonsocially anxious participants were both marginal, $F(1,72) = 4.77$, $p < .06$, and $F(1,72) = 4.58$, $p < .07$ (for the socially and nonsocially anxious participants, respectively), thereby indicating that when participants thought their friend's help would

not make the interaction more comfortable and easy, the manipulations of safeness played less of a role in reducing nervousness.[5]

The data suggest that the manipulation of help did impact participants, but only when the perception of that help is considered. Moreover, it is evident that the interaction of type and perception of help influenced socially and nonsocially anxious differently. The questions that remain are what did the manipulation of safe and unsafe help mean to participants, how does this coincide with perception of that help, and why did the combination of these factors differentially impact socially and nonsocially anxious participants?

As was suggested, one possibility is that safe versus unsafe help gave participants a sense of control; they knew what topics they might discuss with their interaction partner, and had an idea of what their interaction partner knew about them. This, by itself, however, did not result in changes in nervousness. Only when people also perceived this help to be beneficial was nervousness affected. Perhaps the perception of help reflects participants' beliefs about their friend's ability to describe them well; that by reporting that

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[5]Contrasts were also conducted to compare the means for each of the help and perception of help conditions to the baseline for socially and nonsocially anxious participants separately. For socially anxious participants, nervousness in the safe and high beneficial help condition was marginally less than the baseline, $F(1,106) = 2.82$, $p < .10$. Nervousness in the safe and low beneficial help condition was significantly greater than the baseline, $F(1,106) = 7.43$, $p < .01$. For the high and low beneficial help in the unsafe conditions, nervousness did not differ from the baseline, F's < 1.2. For nonsocially anxious participants, nervousness was marginally greater in the safe and high beneficial help conditions than the baseline, $F(1,106) = 2.82$, $p < .10$. For the other three conditions, nervousness levels did not differ from the baseline.

they thought their friend's description of them would make the interaction easier and more comfortable, they demonstrated their faith in the friend's ability to say the right thing. This explanation seems to be appropriate for the socially anxious participants' response; when they had some idea of what might occur during the interaction, and they believed that their friend would effectively convey information about them, they experienced reduced nervousness. Given that socially anxious people tend to experience more arousal in less-scripted situations (Leary & Kowalski, 1995; Schlenker & Leary 1982), one would expect that knowing something about the upcoming conversation was particularly salient to these participants. This may be why in the unsafe condition, when participants did not have any knowledge of what might occur during the interaction, even if socially anxious participants believed their friend's input will be helpful, they did not experience less nervousness.

This explanation does not account for nonsocially anxious participants' reaction to the type and perception of help. If these participants are feeling more control about the upcoming interaction, why would they express more nervousness when they perceived that help as more versus less beneficial? Perhaps, for these participants, the safe manipulation had a different meaning. For example, they may have felt that the interaction would be more restricted if their friend expressed what they indicated on the information sheet. If they provided a particularly self-enhancing or particularly modest depiction of themselves, and they believed their friend would do an effective job at conveying this information (i.e., the high benefit condition), then they may have felt they had to live up to this image of themselves. Consequently, their concerns about being consistent with what

they told their friends to convey could have led them to feel more nervous about the interaction. Conversely, when nonsocially anxious participants did not feel restricted by their own depictions of themselves (i.e., the unsafe condition), and also felt that their friend would effectively describe them to the discussant, they may have felt able to be spontaneous and react more to the interaction styles and comments of their interaction partner, thereby reducing feelings of nervousness.

Despite the speculation for the reactions of nonsocially anxious participants, it is important to note that I predicted that these participants would be less affected overall by both type and perceptions of help. This was not supported by the data. It was clear, however, that the individual differences associated with social anxiety influenced participants' responses to friend's involvement in their upcoming social interaction.

In fact, overall, participants' levels of social anxiety greatly impacted their reports of nervousness. At each level of type of help, there is a significant simple effect of social anxiety, $\underline{F}(1,72) = 20.08$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, and $\underline{F}(1,72) = 22.54$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, for the socially and nonsocially anxious participants, respectively. For safe and unsafe help, regardless of the perceptions of that help, participants high in social anxiety expressed more nervousness than those low in social anxiety ($\underline{M}$s = 4.14 and 4.22 for socially anxious participants in the safe and unsafe conditions, respectively; $\underline{M}$s = 3.11 and 3.05 for nonsocially anxious participants in the safe and unsafe conditions, respectively). Moreover, for three out of the four cell comparisons between socially and nonsocially anxious participants, simple effects tests indicate significant differences ($\underline{F}$'s range from 5.15 to 39.94, all p's < .05), with those high in social anxiety demonstrating more nervousness than those low in social

anxiety. However, participants high in social anxiety who received safe help and perceived that help as beneficial did not differ in nervousness from their low social anxiety counterparts, $F<1$. Not only did the combination of safe and beneficial help lower nervousness for socially anxious participants in comparison to other socially anxious participants, but it actually reduced their nervousness to the point where it matched that of the nonsocially anxious participants in the same condition. Finally, this drop in nervousness also resulted in less nervousness than the baseline level of socially anxious participants. Therefore, Study 2, Experiment 1 provides evidence that the presence of friends can greatly impact the experience that socially anxious people have during social interaction, to the point where they report similar feelings of nervousness to those low in social anxiety.

To summarize, the main hypothesis for the present study was initially not supported; the different types of help appeared to have no effect on nervousness for socially anxious participants. Analyses also revealed that participants did not report that they viewed safe and unsafe help as differentially beneficial; a key component in determining if safe versus unsafe help was to lower nervousness. However, when participants' perceptions of the help they received were included in analyses, it was evident that help from friends did impact nervousness. For socially anxious participants, safe and beneficial help reduced nervousness compared with other types of help, and compared with safe less beneficial help. It also resulted in similar nervousness levels for participants high and low in social anxiety. An unexpected finding from these analyses was the impact of perception and type of help on participants low in social anxiety. It was

anticipated that any help from friends would influence these participants less. However, not only were these participants impacted by the perception and type of help, they were so in the direction opposite of their socially anxious counterparts.

Hypothesis 3: Influence of friendship strength.

It was expected that participants' feelings towards their friends would influence nervousness levels as well as their perceptions of the help provided by their friends. Moreover, the explanation for what the perception of help may mean to participants (i.e., that their friend would have been effective in conveying a desirable impression for them), may suggest that perception of help is tied to (or is a proxy variable for) friendship strength. In other words, how beneficial participants viewed their friends' help may have been determined (or partially determined) by how much they respect, like, or care for their friend.

After completing the major dependent measures, participants responded to the Rubin's Liking and Loving Scale (1973). The scale consists of 22 items (e.g., "I feel I can confide in my friend about virtually everything"), with participants responding on a 1 ("not at all true") to 9 ("definitely true") scale. Higher numbers on all of the items indicate higher friendship strength, and scores could range from 9 to 198 (the mean of the 22 items was multiplied by the number of items). For this sample of discussants, the mean of friendship strength was 142.74, with scores ranging from 44 to 197. Because the friendship strength measure was completed at the end of the session, to check that it was not influenced by the experimental manipulations, it was entered as a dependent measure into one-way ANOVA with type of help as the between subjects factor. There were no

effects for this measure, $\underline{F}$'s < 1, indicating that participants' feelings towards their friend were not influenced by the manipulation of help.

It was predicted that participants high in social anxiety would experience reductions in nervousness in both the safe and unsafe help conditions if they had a stronger friendship with the person making the impression for them. To socially anxious participants, higher friendship strength may indicate that friends are aware of their social trepidations, and know how to describe them without setting them up for social failure, thus, the manipulation of safe help should have no or less of an effect. For participants low in social anxiety, friendship strength should not influence how much they benefit via reductions in nervousness in the help conditions.

3-way ANOVAs with social anxiety, the help condition, and gender that included friendship strength scores as a continuous factor were conducted on the two nervousness measures. Friendship strength scores were centered before entering them into the analyses. No effects for gender, either alone or in interaction with the other factors, were found, and so gender was dropped from the analyses. For the 2-way analysis of social anxiety by help, for the measure assessing how nervous participants felt at that moment, and how nervous participants thought they would feel during the interaction, only main effects of social anxiety were found, $\underline{F}(1,115) = 44.93$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, and $\underline{F}(1,115) = 59.50$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, reiterating the main effect in the original analysis on the nervousness measures. Thus, contrary to predictions, friendship strength had no effect on participants' responses to their friend's help.

To examine if the effects of the perception of help were due to friendship strength, I conducted a 2-way ANOVA (social anxiety by help) on the combined nervousness measure (i.e., how participants felt now and thought they would feel) that included both friendship strength and perceptions of help as continuous variables. The interaction of social anxiety, help, and perceived benefit of the help remained significant, suggesting that friendship strength and perceived benefit of help were not measuring the same constructs in the present study.

Perceptions of friends' help was also entered into analyses as a dependent measure. I expected that the perceived benefit of friends' help would be more influenced by friendship strength for participants high in social anxiety than participants low in social anxiety. That is, whereas the perceptions of helpfulness of the friend's actions would not change based on friendship strength for nonsocially anxious participants, for socially anxious participants, they would perceive their friend's actions as more helpful as friendship strength increased. The 3-way analysis with friendship strength scores added as a continuous factor revealed a main effect of friendship strength, $\underline{F}(1,114) = 9.29$, $\underline{p} < .01$. To illustrate this effect, groups of high and low friendship strength were created using median splits ($\underline{M}$s for friendship strength = 164.69 and 118.40, for the high and low groups, respectively). Those who expressed stronger feelings of friendship found their friend's help as more beneficial than those who expressed less strong feelings of friendship, ($\underline{M}$s = 5.23 and 4.76, for high and low friendship strength, respectively). This main effect was qualified by a marginal interaction between friendship strength and gender, $\underline{F}(1,114) = 3.74$, $\underline{p} < .06$, which suggested that friendship strength differentiates the

perception of help for males ($\underline{M}$s = 5.39 and 4.57, for high and low friendship strength, respectively) more than for females ($\underline{M}$s = 5.08 and 4.94, for high and low friendship strength, respectively). Thus, contrary to predictions, friendship strength did not interact with social anxiety and or the help conditions to influence response to the help or perceptions of help.

Hypothesis 4: Type of impression participants wanted to convey.

The form participants completed that they believed would be shown to their friend to advise them as to what types of topics and issues they should share with their interaction partner could be a representation of the type of self-presentation participants wanted to make on their discussion partner. It was expected that responses of participants high in social anxiety would reflect a more protective self-presentation style than participants low in social anxiety. For all analyses, 2-way ANOVAs with social anxiety and gender as between subjects factors were conducted. The help condition was not included in the analyses because participants completed this form before they were exposed to any experimental manipulations of help.

Participants responded to three types of information. First, participants rated seven categories of skills on a 1 ("do not focus on this area") to 7 ("very much focus on this area") scale to inform friends on what types of abilities they should focus when speaking to the other discussant. Two of these choices were intended to reflect social domains (i.e., social skills and leadership ability) whereas the other categories reflected more non-social domains (e.g., intellectual ability, artistic ability, etc.). It was predicted that high social anxiety participants would tend to want their friends to focus less on their

social abilities than low social anxiety participants. For the social skills item, a main effect of social anxiety supported this hypothesis, $\underline{F}(1,115) = 19.90$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. People high ($\underline{M} = 4.69$) versus low ($\underline{M} = 5.85$) in social anxiety indicated to their friends that they would less prefer their friends to focus on their social skills when sharing information with the other discussant. This pattern was also found for the leadership item, $\underline{F}(1,115) = 7.86$, $\underline{p} < .01$, ($\underline{M}$s = 3.80 and 4.66, for socially and nonsocially anxious participants, respectively). For intellectual ability, artistic ability, and work ethic, there were no differences in how much participants directed their friends to focus on this information, all $\underline{F}$'s < 1. However, socially versus nonsocially anxious people also indicated that they wanted their friends to focus on their athletic abilities less [$\underline{F}(1,115) = 6.36$, $\underline{p} < .05$, ($\underline{M}$s = 3.79 and 4.67, for socially and nonsocially anxious participants, respectively)] and their concern for others less [$\underline{F}(1,115) = 3.56$, $\underline{p} < .07$, ($\underline{M}$s = 4.51 and 5.06 for socially anxious participants and nonsocially anxious participants, respectively)]. Thus, as predicted, for social skills items, socially anxious participants asked friends to focus on them less than nonsocially anxious participants, whereas for some of the non-social domain items, there were no differences in preference for socially and nonsocially anxious participants. However, there were two items that were not intended to represent social domains that socially anxious participants also preferred to discuss less. Thus, overall, there was some evidence of socially anxious participants choosing abilities that were "safe."

Second, participants could also indicate to their friends what conversation topics they would prefer to discuss during their interaction. Participants rated eight topics on a 1 ("do not want to discuss topic") to 7 ("very much want to discuss topic") scale to inform

friends if they wanted to discuss that topic during their interaction. The topics provided represented conversation topics that were innocuous (e.g., discussing hobbies and activities) to somewhat threatening (e.g., discussing one's most embarrassing moment) as indicated by Jourard's research (1973) on self-disclosure. Principal components analysis and Cattell's scree test suggested a 3-factor solution, with all Eigenvalues greater than 1. With a varimax rotation, the factors represented measures of threatening topics (your biggest fear, your most happy moment at UF, and your most embarrassing moment at UF, $\alpha = .67$), personal opinion topics (your political views and your interests, $\alpha = .59$), and innocuous topics (being a student at UF, your reactions to the study, and your background, $\alpha = .54$). For the very self-disclosing threatening topics, a significant main effect of social anxiety was found, $\underline{F}(1,112) = 8.52$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and participants high in social anxiety ($\underline{M} = 2.43$) were less likely to want to discuss those topics than participants low in social anxiety ($\underline{M} = 3.17$). For the topics that included personal opinions, there was also a marginal main effect of social anxiety, $\underline{F}(1,112) = 3.75$, $\underline{p} < .06$. Participants high ($\underline{M} = 2.49$) versus low ($\underline{M} = 2.89$) in social anxiety were also less likely to want to discuss those topics. For the innocuous topics, there were no significant effects, all $\underline{F}$'s < 2.70, ($\underline{M}$s $= 4.90$ and 4.58 for socially and nonsocially anxious participants respectively). Thus, it appears that socially anxious people avoided self-disclosing topics more than nonsocially participants, and that they had more of a preference for innocuous topics. A 3-way split-plot ANOVA was conducted including threatening and innocuous topics as a repeated measures factor and revealed a significant interaction between social anxiety and topic, $F(1,112) = 11.83$, $p < .01$, that further supported this interpretation of the data.

Finally, participants indicated to their friends what they thought their strengths and weaknesses were on 20 traits. Seven traits were intended to represent social-skills traits (e.g., outgoing, sociable, $\alpha = .86$), whereas the other 13 were non-social skills traits (e.g., unreliable, trustworthy, caring, $\alpha = .80$). It was expected that socially anxious participants may be more modest or refrain from scoring themselves as highly as nonsocially anxious participants on the social domain items, but would probably rate themselves similarly on non-social domain items. This is exactly what was found. For the social items, $\underline{F}(1,112) = 90.54$, p < .0001, $\underline{Ms} = 3.94$ and 5.46 for high and low social anxiety participants. For the non-social items, $\underline{F}(1,112) = .46$, $\underline{p} > .05$, $\underline{Ms} = $ and, for the high and low social anxiety participants. A 3-way split plot ANOVA, with social and nonsocial traits entered as a repeated measures factor further supported that socially anxious participants preferred to focus on nonsocial traits, whereas nonsocially anxious did not indicate a preference, in that the interaction between social anxiety and trait was significant, $F(1,112) = 49.56$, p < .0001. Thus, as expected, the information expressed by participants on the sheet that they believed would be shown to their friends before they had the opportunity to speak with their interaction partner demonstrated socially anxious people's tendency to engage in a safe self-presentation style. They chose to discuss less self-disclosing topics, and to focus more on their non-social abilities than people low in social anxiety.

Discussion

Review of the purpose and hypotheses for Experiment 1

The purpose of Study 2 was to experimentally identify a specific way in which people help their friends in social life by managing their impressions for them, and how this

process differs for socially anxious versus nonsocially anxious people. Specifically, in Experiment 1 of Study 2, I investigated if and how people benefit from having friends share information about them with future interaction partners. I proposed that people may experience a reduction in nervousness when they know a friend is speaking on their behalf to an other sex discussant. Morever, because socially anxious people tend to engage in protective but ineffective self-presentation styles, and given the evidence that Study 1 provided that having friends' input during social interaction may be more of a necessity for socially anxious people, I expected that this drop in nervousness would be more extreme for people high versus low in social anxiety. However, because socially anxious people doubt their social abilities and expect failure from themselves during social interaction, I also hypothesized that only certain types of help would benefit socially anxious people. That is, the help received from friends needed to fit into what they might consider "safe." Because people low in social anxiety do not approach social interaction with such trepidation, and have other self-presentation strategies to rely on, I predicted that they would not be affected by the safeness of the help provided by their friends.

"Safe" help was intended to be help that socially anxious people believed would benefit versus detract from their self-presentation. For example, safe help could entail descriptions provided by friends that were positive, but not unrealistic, so that socially anxious people would think they could successfully convey the impression their friend made for them. In this study, I manipulated safeness by having participants believe that their friends would view a questionnaire that they completed indicating the type of information they wanted their friends to convey to the other discussant. I also proposed

that friendship strength impacted the safeness of help in that for socially anxious people, having a very close friend speak on their behalf to a potential date may also be construed as safer help. Thus, I predicted that socially anxious participants would benefit from their friends' help by a reduction in nervousness before an upcoming interaction, but only when they felt that help was safe (either by the manipulation of safe help or through friendship strength).

Findings for Experiment 1: Participants' response to receiving help via beneficial impression management.

At the outset, it appeared that these predictions were not supported. Safe help and friendship strength did not alter the responses in nervousness for high versus low anxiety participants. Moreover, for two measures of nervousness, there was no difference in participants who received versus didn't receive help. The only factor that impacted how nervous participants felt before their interaction was participants' level of social anxiety.

Influence of the perceptions of help. However, when participants were asked how helpful or beneficial they thought their friend's input would be (i.e., would the help make the interaction more comfortable or easier?), there was no evidence that participants viewed the different manipulations of help as more or less beneficial. Therefore, it did not appear that the manipulation of safeness of help functioned as I had anticipated. At the same time, participants' perceptions of the help did influence the reactions of participants. When considering the participants' perceptions of help, regardless of the help condition to which they were assigned, a drop in nervousness occurred for participants high in social anxiety. When socially anxious participants believed their friend's help would make the

interaction easier and more comfortable, they reported feeling less nervous than when they thought their friend's help would be less beneficial. Participants low in social anxiety did not experience a similar drop, and regardless of their perceptions of the help, displayed less nervousness than participants high in social anxiety.

However, the participants' expression of nervousness was not only related to perceptions of help; the assigned help conditions also interacted with perceptions to influence nervousness for both high and low social anxiety participants. For socially anxious participants, safe, beneficial help not only reduced nervousness from safe less beneficial help, and unsafe beneficial help, but also reduced nervousness to comparable levels of nonsocially anxious participants. Thus, I was able to demonstrate that people who experience chronic levels of nervousness during social interactions (i.e., socially anxious people) can be helped by having friends make an impression for them; it requires, however, feeling that the friend's help will be beneficial as well as safe.

Why did socially anxious participants need two conditions to be met to experience reductions in nervousness? A possible explanation is that the manipulation of safeness represented having more knowledge or being prepared for the upcoming interaction, making participants feel like they had more control over how the interaction might progress. However, these factors alone were not salient enough to cause participants to feel more at ease before the interaction. Safe help, that may have provided participants with a sense of control, also had to be viewed as beneficial help. Beneficial help may have meant to participants that their friends were capable of effectively communicating their qualities to other discussant. Thus, having some control over the upcoming interaction

paired with the belief that the friend would do a good job in describing them to the other discussant resulted in socially anxious participants approaching the situation with less apprehension.

The importance of socially anxious participants having some feeling of control over their impending meeting with the other discussant was reflected in the findings for the unsafe condition. Even when socially anxious participants viewed their friends' help as beneficial, if they believed their friend did not know what they wanted them to convey to the other discussant, they did not experience less nervousness. The reaction to the unsafe condition may reflect the tendency of socially anxious people to experience more arousal when situations are particularly ambiguous or unscripted (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). Thus, having no idea as to what their friend might share with the other discussant may have overridden any positive outcomes that would be associated with perceiving their friend's help as beneficial.

For nonsocially anxious participants, although I expected them to be less influenced by the manipulation of help and their perceptions of help, the data suggest that in this sample of nonsocially anxious participants, they, too can be impacted by how help is provided. Nonsocially anxious participants experienced more nervousness in the safe high benefit help group, than in the safe low benefit group, and experienced less nervousness in the unsafe high benefit group, than in the unsafe low benefit group. Why people who tend to be socially confident and take social risks were influenced at all by these factors, as well as the counterintuitive manner in which they were influenced by these factors, merits further study. The explanations provided for how type and

perception of help influenced socially anxious participants does not fit with the responses of nonsocially anxious participants. A possibility for nonsocially anxious participants is that safe help, instead of representing control, made them feel stifled or limited by the information they provided to friends to share with the discussant. Nonsocially anxious people are confident in their ability to make good impressions on others, and are thus possibly more comfortable in having "off the cuff" interactions that would allow them to respond naturally and spontaneously to their interaction partner. However, why safe help paired with perceiving their friend's help as beneficial increased nervousness for these participants is unclear.

The diverse responses of socially and nonsocially anxious participants to type and perception of help may speak to the vast differences in how these groups deal with social life. Whereas to socially anxious people, safe help may have represented control and predictability in social interaction, to nonsocially anxious people, safe help may have represented a stifled or unnatural social interaction. Whereas unsafe help may have implied freedom in self-presentation for nonsocially anxious participants, it may have implied unpredictability or uncertainty in self-presentation for socially anxious participants. Future research may shed light on if these interpretations of the manipulations and perception of help are accurate, and represent individual differences in how socially and nonsocially anxious people approach social interaction, including the role their friends play.

Future research. In addition, for future research, it will be necessary to pinpoint what socially anxious people view as safe and/or beneficial help. The way in which safe

help was operationalized in this study was chosen because I assumed having friends simply speak on one's behalf may have backfired for socially anxious people. Previous research indicates that if socially anxious people believe that expectations have been set too high for them in social interaction, they experience more fear and arousal, and typically do not perform well (Wallace & Alden, 1995; 1997). Perhaps, providing participants with an example of what their friends supposedly told their interaction partners would be a more direct way to manipulate if they believe the help is useful for them. For instance, they could receive information from the person with whom they will interact commenting on the description that their friend provided to them (e.g., telling them that their friend indicated how they were such a reliable and caring friend). Further, it was assumed in the present research that the safeness manipulation would not affect participants low in social anxiety. This did not appear to be the case, and also merits further investigation.

What is also striking about the present results is that in general, there were no differences in nervousness and other measures of social effectiveness (i.e., attractiveness, likableness) for people who received versus did not receive help. It was assumed that, when expecting to interact with a member of the other sex, having a friend put a good word-in versus having to rely only on oneself to make an impression would result in some evidence of being more at ease or confident, but this was not found. In the present study, "no help" was manipulated by informing participants that, due to time limits in the session, their friend would not have the opportunity to make the impression for them. Perhaps, this is not the most appropriate baseline to use to compare receiving help versus relying

only on oneself during social interaction. A more appropriate control condition may result from having some participants come to the session alone, believe they would have the interaction, and then measure nervousness. In the present study, simply having friends present may have put participants, particularly socially anxious ones, at ease.

Influence of friendship strength. Also unexpected was the finding that friendship strength did not influence the response to the help provided to participants. Higher friendship strength, which was thought to make beneficial impression management "safer" for socially anxious participants, did not interact with levels of social anxiety, type of help, or perceptions of help to influence participants' responses. In two previous studies on beneficial impression management, friendship strength determined if help was provided to friends (Schlenker & Britt, in press) and dating partners (Pontari & Schlenker, 2001). It could be the case that friendship strength has more influence on the behavior of the provider of help more than the recipients of help. Also, because in the previous beneficial impression management studies, social anxiety level was not considered, there may be something about socially anxious and nonsocially anxious people that causes friendship strength to have less impact. However, it seems more logical to propose that people who report that they are very socially gifted or very socially awkward would be more influenced by the involvement of their friends. Nevertheless, the finding that friendship strength had no influence on the responses of discussants was surprising.

Evidence of protective self-presentation for socially anxious participants

This dissertation was based around the notion that socially anxious people take a cost-oriented approach to social life. The present study provided more evidence that

socially anxious people prefer such a protective self-presentation style. That is, the tendency of socially anxious participants to convey a positive but safe impression was reflected in the types of information they indicated to their friends to share with the other discussant. People high in social anxiety informed friends to focus less on their social abilities than people low in social anxiety. They also chose conversations topics that were less self-disclosing than people low in social anxiety. Thus, even when friends were making an impression for them, people high in social anxiety chose the safer route to self-presentation than people low in social anxiety.

<u>Conclusions</u>

The present study also investigated the outcomes that may be available when on the receiving end of beneficial impression management. Previous beneficial impression management studies have only investigated this phenomenon from the perspective of the provider of the help rather than the recipient of the help. Although my intent was to focus on the advantages provided to socially anxious people, the results suggest that nonsocially anxious people also benefit from their friends making impressions for them. This may set the stage for future work investigating how beneficial impression management plays a role in developing social relationships. If people do respond positively to friend's strategically altering their descriptions of them, is this a feature of committed and positive relationships? Is this something that comes naturally for people? Do people realize the benefits they are receiving from friend's presence in social life?

The present study also provides a more upbeat picture of socially anxious people than is often found in the literature. Socially anxious participants in this study were able to

recruit friends to come with them to the study, and they expressed the same amount of friendship strength towards those friends as nonsocially anxious participants. They also expressed less nervousness, and levels of nervousness comparable to nonsocially anxious people in when their friend provided beneficial and safe help. Perhaps this type of tangible help from friends is a form of social support that is welcome and useful for socially anxious participants. It may be a subtle way that people can help their socially awkward friends cope better with social life. Thus, relying on friends may be an effective and viable strategy that has tangible outcomes for socially anxious people.

<div align="center">The Associate - Experiment 2</div>

Overview

Experiment 1 of Study 2 focused on how socially anxious and nonsocially anxious people benefit from having friends make impressions for them. Experiment 2 focused on how people respond to socially and nonsocially anxious friends in need of social help. Specifically, the purpose of the associate's portion of the study was to replicate the procedure utilized in Schlenker and Britt (1999) and examine if friends of people high in social anxiety are willing to engage in beneficial impression management similarly to friends of people low in social anxiety. Now having some evidence that socially anxious people can benefit from having friends help manage their impressions, will friends in fact provide such help?

Participants

Participants for this portion of the study were the friends of the students who were recruited for Experiment 1. Of the 126 participants who arrived for the study, one

participant was deleted from the analysis because he had participated as the discussant in an earlier session, and another was deleted because she admitted she was not friends with the discussant (i.e., she was the person who came to the session with the discussant who was deleted from analyses for the same reason). Thus, 124 participants were included in analyses.

Procedure

Associates received information that outlined the sequence of events that was going to occur during their session (Appendix M). They were led to believe that their friend would have several short interactions with the another discussant. They learned that after their friend's first interaction, their friend and the other discussant would complete questionnaires assessing first impressions and other personal qualities that would then be shown to them (see Appendix N). These questionnaires were actually completed by the experimenter, and served to indicate how much the associate's friend would like to make a good impression on the other discussant, and what type of person the other discussant prefers in friends.

Specifically, associates believed that their friend completed the Discussant's First Impression Form (Appendix O). Experimenters completed this form to indicate that the discussant with whom the friend interacted was of the other sex, and that the friend found this person either very attractive (i.e., friendly, interesting, physically attractive, etc.) and was concerned about making a good impression on this person, or unattractive (i.e., unfriendly, boring, physically unattractive, etc.) and was not concerned about making a good impression on this person. Associates also believed that the discussant with whom

their friend interacted completed the Discussant Background Information Form (Appendix P) that depicted what type of person he or she preferred in an "ideal friend." The experimenter completed this questionnaire to either indicate that the other discussant's ideal friend preference was very extraverted or very introverted. Knowing what kind of impression their friend wanted to make, and what kind of impression would be a desirable one to make, the associates then completed the major dependent measures. They described their friend to the other discussant via questionnaire (Appendix Q) with the understanding that their friend would not see or know of the questionnaire. After completing these measures, they responded to manipulation checks (Appendix R), and completed Rubin's Liking and Loving Scales (1973). They were then debriefed (Appendix S).

The design of the study was a 2 (friend's level of social anxiety: high versus low) x 2 (friend's impression of the other discussant: attractive versus unattractive) x 2 (other discussant's ideal friend preference: extraverted versus introverted) between subjects factorial design.

Results

Procedural checks

Participants responded to two questions that addressed the role that they and their friend played in the session. All but three participants responded correctly to the questions stating, "You are playing the role of the _____ in today's session," and "Your friend is playing the role of the _____ in today's session," with responses being associate, discussant, or experimenter. Deleting participants who answered the questions incorrectly

did not alter the major analyses, thus these data were included in all analyses. Participants

also indicated the gender of the person with whom they believed their friend interacted,

and only one participant answered this item incorrectly. He, too was included in the

analyses.

To ensure that the manipulation of the friend's impression of the other discussant

(i.e., attractive versus unattractive) was effective, participants responded to the question,

"The person with whom your friend interacted made what kind of impression on your

friend?" on a 1 to 7 scale, with 1 being very negative and 7 being very positive. This item

was submitted to a 2 (social anxiety level of friend: high versus low) by 2 (impression of

discussant: attractive versus unattractive) by 2 (preference of the discussant: extravert

versus introvert) ANOVA and yielded a main effect of attractiveness, $\underline{F}(1,123) =$

2028.59, $\underline{p} < .0001$. Participants in the attractive condition ($\underline{M} = 6.65$) indicated that the

other discussant made a much more positive impression on their friend than participants in

the unattractive condition ($\underline{M} = 2.41$). There were no other effects for this item.

For the manipulation of preference of the other discussant, participants responded

to the item asking what the other discussant preferred in an "ideal friend" on a scale of 1

to 7, 1 indicating very extraverted, 4 indicating neither extraverted or introverted, and 7

indicating very introverted. A main effect of preference was found, $\underline{F}(1,124) = 2581.20$, $\underline{p}$

$< .0001$, indicating that participants in the extraverted condition thought the preference of

the other discussant was very extraverted ($M = 1.17$), whereas people in the introverted

condition thought the preference of the other discussant was introverted ($\underline{M} = 5.88$). A

main effect of attractiveness was also found, $\underline{F}(1,124) = 6.41$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Participants in the

attractive condition ($\underline{M}$ = 3.42) thought the preference of the other discussant was more extraverted than people in the unattractive condition ($\underline{M}$ = 3.65). In other words, participants who read a questionnaire on which they believed their friends had marked that they found the other discussant friendly, interesting, intelligent, pleasant, and physically attractive, also assumed that this person their friend described preferred extraverts for friends. This may reflect the tendency to associate positive descriptions of people (i.e., the attractive manipulation) with extraverted qualities rather than introverted qualities (Goldberg, 1990; Hendrick & Brown, 1971). In previous research in beneficial impression management in which the same manipulation of extraverted and introverted preference was used, this effect did not occur. Looking closely at the means for the attractive and unattractive conditions however, reveals that not only are the differences between these groups minute, but the participants' responses also fell between slightly extraverted and neither extraverted or introverted. Thus, the impact of participants in the attractive condition assuming the associate with whom their friend interacted preferred extraverts may not be extreme, although it will be considered when interpreting results in the attractive versus unattractive conditions.

Hypothesis 1: Description of friends on extraverted and introverted traits.

Participants had the opportunity to describe their friends as more or less the type of person the other discussant preferred by altering their descriptions of them on extraverted and introverted traits. I expected that for participants making an impression for a friend low in social anxiety, their descriptions on extraversion and introversion would be similar to those found in previous research in beneficial impression management. That

is, when their friends supposedly wanted to make a good impression (i.e., the attractive condition) on a discussant, participants would describe them as the "discussant's type,"whereas when their friends did not want to make a good impression on the discussant (i.e., the unattractive condition), participants would describe them as "not the discussant's type." For participants making impressions for friends who are high in social anxiety, I expected a similar pattern, but one that reflected a tempered impression when describing those friends to an attractive discussant who prefers extraverts. Participants may be less likely to describe their socially anxious friends as very extraverted (or as extraverted as their nonsocially anxious counterparts), even when that is the desirable impression to make, because they may realize doing so would set-up their friend for failure, or present a very unrealistic or unbelievable image for their friend to portray. However, if being introverted was the desirable impression to make, friends of people high in social anxiety may be even more willing to describe their friends as introverted than people low in social anxiety given that traits associated with introversion may be more like socially anxious versus nonsocially anxious people. Thus, for descriptions on extraversion and introversion, significant 3-way interactions of friend's level of social anxiety, attractiveness of the discussant, and preference of the other discussant are expected.

Participants described their friends on 40 traits on a 1 to 7 scale, with 1 indicating that the trait was not characteristic of their friend, and 7 indicating that the trait was perfectly characteristic of their friend. Several traits were included that reflected extraversion and introversion. For extraversion, an a priori measure included 6 items: outgoing, sociable, bold, talkative, boisterous, and life of the party, $\alpha = .87$. For

introversion, an a priori measure included 8 items: sensitive, reserved, quiet, introspective, introverted, shy, reflective, and modest, $\alpha = .80$. (The introverted items were chosen based on the introverted options on the questionnaire that the other discussant supposedly completed that indicated his or her ideal friend preference.)

Four-way ANOVAs were conducted on the measures of extraversion and introversion with social anxiety of friend, attractiveness of the discussant, the other discussant's preference, and gender as between subjects factors. For extraversion, a main effect of the friend's level of social anxiety was found, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 25.42$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. Friends of people low in social anxiety described their friends as more extraverted than friends of people high in social anxiety ($\underline{M}$s = 5.09 and 4.01, for friends of low and high social anxiety participants, respectively). A main effect of gender was also found, $\underline{F}(1, 108) = 4.07$, $\underline{p} < .05$, indicating that participants described female friends ($\underline{M} = 4.77$) as more extraverted than male friends ($\underline{M} = 4.34$). This main effect of gender was qualified by the 2-way interaction of gender and friend's level of social anxiety, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 4.40$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Participants described males and females who were high in social anxiety similarly on extraversion ($\underline{M}$s = 4.03 and 4.01, for males and females, respectively), whereas participants described females who are low in social anxiety as more extraverted than males low in social anxiety ($\underline{M}$s = 4.65 and 5.52, for males and females, respectively). Finally, the expected 3-way interaction of friend's social anxiety, attractiveness of the discussant, and preference of the other discussant was found, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 4.69$, $\underline{p} < .05$. The pattern of means (see Table 2), however, did not support the initial predictions. It appears that friends of people high in social anxiety made a desirable impression for their

Table 2

Associates' Descriptions of their Friends on Extraverted Traits by
Social Anxiety Level of Friend and Characteristics of the Discussant

| | | Preference of Discussant | |
		Extravert	Introvert
High Social Anxiety	Attractive Discussant	4.79	3.72
	Unattractive Discussant	3.82	3.73
Low Social Anxiety	Attractive Discussant	5.11	5.39
	Unattractive Discussant	5.38	4.88

Note: Scores can range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more extraversion.

friends when the friends found the discussant attractive versus unattractive, and the discussant preferred extraverts. Friends of people low in social anxiety did not alter their descriptions of friends at all depending on the circumstances.

Specifically, simple effects tests revealed that for participants describing friends high in social anxiety, there was a significant simple effect of preference of the discussant, $\underline{F}(1,116) = 4.20$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and a marginal simple effect of attraction, $\underline{F}(1,116) = 2.87$, $\underline{p} < .10$. Participants described their socially anxious friends as more extraverted to discussants who preferred extraverts ($\underline{M} = 4.37$) rather than introverts ($\underline{M} = 3.68$), and also more extraverted to attractive ($\underline{M} = 4.22$) rather than unattractive ($\underline{M} = 3.82$) discussants. These effects were further qualified by a marginal simple interaction between preference of the discussant and attraction, $\underline{F}(1,116) = 2.91$, $\underline{p} < .09$. For participants low in social anxiety, there were no significant simple effects or simple interactions (all $\underline{F}$'s < 1.75), suggesting that participants making impression for their nonsocially anxious friends did not differentiate their descriptions of extraversion according to the likes of their friend or the discussant. Participants describing socially anxious friends, however, indicated they were more extraverted when they thought their friends were interacting with attractive versus unattractive discussants who preferred extraverts $\underline{F}(1,116) = 5.96$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and when they described their friend to attractive discussants who prefers extraverts rather than introverts, $F(1,116) = 7.02$, $p .05$. Therefore, friends of socially anxious participants engaged in beneficial impression management when friends wanted to impress an attractive discussant who preferred extraverts by describing them as more extraverted, whereas participants describing friends who were not socially anxious did not respond at all to the circumstances in which they believed their friend was placed.

I expected that if friends of socially anxious people engaged in beneficial impression management, they would temper their descriptions of their friends on extraversion. This pattern was not found in the extraverted condition. It was clear that participants were comfortable in making an extraverted impression for their socially anxious friends when it was most desirable for them to do so. They were willing, in fact, to describe their socially anxious friend as being as extraverted as participants making impressions for friends low in social anxiety in the same condition. That is, when participants described friends to attractive discussants who preferred extraverts, there was no difference in the descriptions of friends who were high versus low in social anxiety ($\underline{F}$ < 1). For friends of nonsocially anxious people, however, regardless of the likes of their friends or of the other discussant, they maintained that their friends were relatively extraverted. Therefore, contrary to predictions, these participants did not strategically alter the descriptions of friends to adjust their impressions according to the qualities of the discussant.

Although participants described socially anxious friends as being equally extraverted as participants who described nonsocially friends when the discussant was attractive and preferred extraverts, the tendency for participants to make a more extraverted impression for nonsocially anxious friends was evident. Participants described nonsocially anxious friends as more extraverted than socially anxious friends in the three other experimental conditions (all $\underline{F}$'s > 4.82, $\underline{p}$ < .05), therefore indicating that overall, friends' levels of social anxiety for whom participants were making an impression did impact descriptions on extraversion. Friends of nonsocially anxious people tended to

describe their friends as more extraverted than friends of socially anxious people regardless of the experimental circumstances. For example, for participants in the extraverted condition, there was a significant simple effect of social anxiety of friends, $F(1,116) = 10.63$, $p < .05$, in that participants making impressions for high anxiety friends described them as less extraverted ($M = 4.37$) than participants making impressions for low anxiety friends ($M = 5.18$). For the introverted preference condition, there was also a significant simple main effect of social anxiety, $F(1,116) = 22.55$, $p < .001$. Participants described friends who were high in anxiety as less extraverted ($M = 3.68$) than friends who were low in anxiety ($M = 5.01$). For the attractive and unattractive conditions, similar patterns were found, $F(1,116) = 11.80$, $p < .01$, and $F(1,116) = 21.05$, $p < .001$, in that for both conditions, socially anxious friends were described as less extraverted than nonsocially anxious friends ($Ms = 4.22$ and 3.82 for the high anxiety group in the attractive and unattractive conditions, $Ms = 5.14$ and 5.04 for the low anxiety group in the attractive and unattractive conditions). Thus, except when participants described socially anxious friends to attractive discussants who preferred extraverts, the pattern of means reflects the tendency of people to think of socially anxious people as less extraverted than nonsocially anxious people.

Although friends of socially anxious people engaged in beneficial impression management, several strategic patterns found in the previous beneficial impression management studies (Schlenker & Britt, 1999, in press) were not evident. For example, in the present study, movement in scores was only evident in the extraverted condition. In Schlenker and Britt (1999) participants also lowered their ratings of friends on

extraversion to indicate to attractive discussants who preferred introverts that their friends were their type. I expected the same pattern in the present study, however, there was only a significant interaction between social anxiety and attraction in the extraverted condition, $F(1,116) = 4.56$, $p < .05$ (for the introverted condition, $F < 1$). Moreover, I also expected that friends of socially anxious people in the introverted condition would have been even more willing than friends of nonsocially anxious people to describe them as introverted when it was helpful to do so. Although participants describing socially anxious friends described them as more introverted by dropping their ratings of extraversion in comparison to friends of nonsocially anxious people, these scores were not influenced by the friend's desire to make a good impression on the discussant (i.e., the attractive condition).

Also contrary to previous research, any strategic movements in descriptions only occurred in the attractive conditions. When participants thought they were describing their friends to someone they found attractive, the interaction between social anxiety and attractiveness was significant, $F(1,116) = 5.38$, $p < .05$. When participants thought they were describing their friends to someone they found unattractive, there was no such interaction, $F < 1.5$. Thus, the strategic shift found in previous beneficial impression management studies (Schlenker & Britt, 1999, in press) in which participants informed unattractive discussants that their friends were "not their type" was not evident in the present findings.

Although the predicted patterns of means was not supported, another interesting pattern emerged from the extraversion measure that leaves several questions to be

addressed. Friends of people high in social anxiety engaged in beneficial impression management to the point of describing their friends as being as extraverted as friends of nonsocially anxious people. Yet, they only altered their descriptions to attractive discussants who preferred extraverts. Friends of nonsocially anxious people, however, did not alter their descriptions of friends at all, but simply described their friends as relatively extraverted in all conditions.

Participants also had the opportunity to make a good impression for their friends by adjusting their descriptions of them on introversion. For the introversion measure, the 4-way ANOVA revealed a main effect of social anxiety level of the friend, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 10.93$, $\underline{p} < .01$, in that participants described socially anxious friends ($\underline{M} = 3.94$) as more introverted than nonsocially anxious friends, ($\underline{M} = 3.31$). This interaction was qualified by a marginal 2-way interaction of friend's social anxiety level and gender, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 3.93$, $\underline{p} < .06$. Participants differentiated their description of female friends on introversion depending on their level of social anxiety, ($\underline{M}s = 4.13$ and 3.13, for high and low social anxiety participants, respectively), whereas they did do so for male friends ($\underline{M}s = 3.75$ and 3.50, for high and low social anxiety participants, respectively). There were no other effects for the introversion measure, thus, the hypothesis that participants, particularly friends of high anxiety students, would describe their friends as introverted when it was desirable to do so, was not supported (See Table 3 for the means on introversion). Thus, unlike descriptions on extraversion, participants did not utilize their ratings on traits like reserved and quiet to convey to their friends' interaction partners that they were more or less their type.

Table 3

Associates' Descriptions of their Friends on Introverted Traits by
Social Anxiety Level of Friend and Characteristics of the Discussant

		Preference of Discussant	
		Extravert	Introvert
High Social Anxiety	Attractive Discussant	3.76	4.34
	Unattractive Discussant	3.88	4.05
Low Social Anxiety	Attractive Discussant	3.34	3.26
	Unattractive Discussant	3.13	3.37

Note: Scores can range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more introversion.

Although the pattern of means for introverted traits indicated that friends of socially and nonsocially anxious people did not strategically alter their ratings, I also conducted a 4-way ANOVA with social anxiety of friend, attractiveness of discussant, preference of discussant, and extraverted and introverted ratings as a within subjects factor. (Table 4 presents the means for extraversion and introversion together.) To briefly summarize, there was a marginal 4-way interaction found, $F(1,116) = 3.03$, $p < .09$. It appears that for participants describing friends high in social anxiety, their ratings on extraversion and introversion do not differ, $F < 1$, ($Ms = 4.01$ and 4.01 for the extraverted and introverted traits, respectively). For participants describing friends low in social anxiety, their ratings on extraversion and introversion do differ, $F(1,116) = 56.42$, $p < .0001$ ($Ms = 5.19$ and 3.78 for the extraverted and introverted traits, respectively). Moreover, for participants making impression for friends low in social anxiety, in each condition, the within subjects simple effect was significant, indicating that regardless of the experimental conditions, participants always described their nonsocially anxious friends as more extraverted and less introverted (all F's > 5). For participants making impressions for friends high in social anxiety, the only significant within subject difference was when they described their friends to attractive discussants who preferred extraverts, $F(1,116) = 5.01$, $p < .05$. Thus, again, there is evidence that participants describing friends low in social anxiety consistently made very extraverted impressions for them, whereas participants describing friends high in social anxiety for the most part described their friends as neither very introverted nor extraverted. Friends of people high in social anxiety, do however, differentiate their descriptions of extraversion and introversion when it was important to do so (i.e., in the extraverted attractive condition).

Table 4

Associates' Descriptions of Their Friends
on Extraverted and Introverted Traits

| | | Preference of Discussant | | | |
| | | Extroverts | | Introverts | |
		Ext Traits	Int Traits	Ext Traits	Int Traits
High Social Anxiety	Attractive	4.79	3.76	3.72	4.34
	Unattractive	3.82	3.88	3.73	4.05
Low Social Anxiety	Attractive	5.11	3.34	5.39	3.26
	Unattractive	5.38	3.13	4.88	3.37

Note: Scores range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more of the trait.

Why participants making impressions for nonsocially anxious friends maintained they were extraverted, regardless of the experimental conditions may relate to characteristics of the friends they were describing. In previous beneficial impression management studies, people tended to alter the descriptions of friends according to their friend's wishes and the preference of the other discussant. In these studies (e.g., Schlenker & Britt, 1999) participants were not selected based on their friend's social anxiety scores. The friends that participants described in those studies represented the normal distribution of social anxiety scores. In the present research, participants' in the low social anxiety condition were making impressions for people who scored in the bottom tertile of the social anxiety scale; people who were most likely very socially skilled, confident, and poised. Participants may not have felt that their friends needed assistance in making a good impression; they typically do well socially on their own, so they described them simply as they see them. Or, regardless of the experimental circumstances, participants describing nonsocially anxious friends may have thought it was more important to describe them as extraverted. Perhaps their friends are so socially adept and outgoing that describing them as anything other than extraverted would be less pleasing to them or too misleading to the other discussant.

Participants making impressions for their socially anxious friends altered their descriptions on extraversion, but only to attractive discussants who preferred extraverts. Perhaps, for discussants who preferred introverts, they fell back on the notion that introversion is a less desirable trait, and would therefore not want to describe their friends according to the likes of someone who preferred that type of friend. Recall that the

manipulation check for preference indicated that participants assumed that attractive discussants preferred people who were more extraverted, so even when participants described their friends to an attractive discussant who supposedly preferred introverts, participants evidently still thought their ideal friend would be slightly more extraverted than introverted. Finally, it may be the case, that given the lack of findings for both the introverted preference condition, and for the introverted dependent measure, that these characteristics are less clear than extraverted ones. Being sensitive or introspective does not conjure-up as clear an image as being talkative and outgoing, which may make it more difficult for participants to match their descriptions to that image.

Hypothesis 2: Description of friend on non-preference traits.

Participants provided descriptions for their friends on traits that were not related to the preferences of the discussant. For these non-preference traits, the original hypothesis put forth that participants making impressions for friends high in social anxiety might shift their descriptions on non-preference traits more than people making impressions for friends low in social anxiety. If participants are hesitant to describe their socially anxious friends as extraverted or not very introverted, they could still provide a positive impression for their friends by exaggerating (or downplaying, depending on the attractiveness condition) their strengths in other areas that are less social-oriented, or less testable in a short interaction. However, given the pattern of means for the extraverted traits, it might be unnecessary for friends making impressions for friends high in social anxiety to boost them on non-preference traits (at least in the extraverted attractive condition) because they were in fact willing to describe them as extraverted.

Participants rated their friends on several traits that did not coincide with what was indicated on the questionnaires as the discussant's preference in an ideal friend. They were: kind, intelligent, good friend, trustworthy, understanding, lazy, selfish, and unreliable (the last three items were reverse scored, $\alpha = .82$). Participants responded using a 1 to 7 scale with 1 being "not at all characteristic of their friend" and 7 being "perfectly characteristic of their friend." This measure was submitted to a 4-way ANOVA with social anxiety of friend, attractiveness of other discussant, preference of other discussant, and gender as between subjects factors. This analysis yielded a main effect of attractiveness of discussant, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 5.09$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Participants described their friends more positively on the non-preference traits when they believed their friend was interacting with an attractive ($\underline{M} = 5.94$) versus an unattractive discussant ($\underline{M} = 5.60$). A marginal 3-way interaction of friend's social anxiety, attractiveness of discussant, and preference of discussant was found, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 3.39$, $\underline{p} < .07$. (See Table 5 for the means on the non-social items.) To examine if ratings on non-preference items were systematically related to ratings on extraversion, a 4-way split-plot ANOVA with social anxiety, attractiveness of the discussant, and preference of the discussant as between subjects factors, and extraverted and non-preference traits as a repeated measures factor was also conducted. The 4-way interaction was significant, $F(1,116) = 7.05$, $p < .01$.

The means comparing ratings on extraverted and non-preference traits are presented in Table 6. Simple effects tests suggest that the interaction was driven by the difference between extraversion and non-preference scores for participants describing socially anxious friends. Because their ratings are so much lower on extraversion than

Table 5

Associates' Descriptions of Friends on Non-Preference Traits by
Social Anxiety Level of Friend and Characteristics of the Discussant

| | | Preference of Discussant | |
		Extravert	Introvert
High Social Anxiety	Attractive Discussant	5.83	6.10
	Unattractive Discussant	5.70	5.39
Low Social Anxiety	Attractive Discussant	6.01	5.84
	Unattractive Discussant	5.45	4.84

Note: Scores can range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more positive
descriptions.

Table 6

Associates' Descriptions of Their Friends
on Extraverted and Non-Preference Traits

		Preference of Discussant			
		Extroverts		Introverts	
		Ext Traits	NP Traits	Ext Traits	NP Traits
High Social Anxiety	Attractive	4.79	5.92	3.72	6.15
	Unattractive	3.82	5.73	3.73	5.50
Low Social Anxiety	Attractive	5.11	6.00	5.39	5.89
	Unattractive	5.38	5.45	4.88	5.85

Note: NP traits = non-preference traits. Scores range from 1 to 7, with higher scores
indicating more of the trait.

participants describing nonsocially anxious friends, the within subjects effect is significant at every level of the experimental conditions (all $\underline{F}$'s > 10, $\underline{p}$'s < .01). For participants describing nonsocially anxious friends, their scores for extraversion and non-preference traits only differ when they are describing friends to attractive discussants who prefer extraverts, and unattractive discussants who prefer introverts. Although the pattern of means for participants describing socially anxious friends appears to suggest that they are strategically adjusting their descriptions of friends on non-preference traits in the introverted condition, this simple effect is only marginally significant, $F(1,116) = 3.37$, $p < .07$. Likewise, for participants describing nonsocially anxious friends, the difference between scores on non-preference traits for discussants who preferred extraverts in the attractive and unattractive conditions was not significant $F(1,116) = 2.27$, $p > .05$. Thus, except for some marginal effects, descriptions of friends on non-preference traits did not relate to descriptions on extraversion in a way that would suggest participants were "making up" for descriptions in extraversion that were not strategic.

Hypothesis 3: The influence of friendship strength.

 Previous research in beneficial impression management found that friendship strength influenced whether people were willing to engage in beneficial impression management (Pontari & Schlenker, 2000; Schlenker & Britt, in press). Specifically, those who expressed stronger feelings towards their friends responded by describing their friends more positively to an important evaluator. It may be expected that for friends of people low in social anxiety, friendship strength may only increase the amount of help provided to friends under all circumstances. For friends of participants high in social

anxiety, it may be the case that participants who express stronger feelings toward their friend may be more willing to describe their friend as being extraverted to an attractive discussant who prefers extraverts. At the same time, these participants may know their socially anxious friends well, realize their limitations and concerns about social failure, and therefore temper their descriptions of them on extraverted traits. Thus, how friendship strength will influence the descriptions of friends of discussants who are high in social anxiety is unclear.

Associates completed Rubin's Liking and Loving Scale (1973). Because the friendship strength measure was completed at the end of the session, I checked to see if it was influenced by the experimental manipulations in the study by entering it into a 2-way ANOVA (with attractiveness and preference of the discussants as between subjects factors) as a dependent measure. There were no effects for this item, (all $\underline{F}$'s < 1), indicating that the information that participants received that they believed their friend and the person with whom their friend interacted did not influence their feelings towards their friend.

To examine the influence of friendship strength on beneficial impression management, 4-way ANOVAs with friendship strength scores included as an additional continuous factor were conducted (with friendship scores centered) on the extraversion and introversion measures. No effects for gender were found so gender was dropped from analyses. For the 3-way analyses, the only significant effect for friendship was a main effect on the extraversion measure, $\underline{F}(1,108) = 5.46$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Median splits on the friendship strength measure indicate that people high in friendship strength described their

friends as more extraverted then people low in friendship strength ($\underline{M}$s = 4.92 and 4.24, for the high and low friendship strength groups, respectively). Thus, unlike previous research (Schlenker & Britt, in press), and contrary to predictions, friendship strength did not seem to influence whether participants engaged in beneficial impression management.

Discussion

Review of the purpose and hypotheses for Experiment 2

Experiment 1 of Study 2 provided evidence that socially anxious people could benefit via reductions in nervousness by having a friend help manage their impressions in an upcoming social interaction. Experiment 2 of Study 2 investigated if friends of socially anxious people would in fact be willing to engage in that type of help for their friends.

I predicted that, as in previous research (Schlenker & Britt, 1999; in press), people would help their friends make a good impression on an attractive audience by describing them according to the likes of this audience, and that people would refrain from doing so when describing friends to an unattractive audience. Further, I expected that for participants making impressions for socially anxious friends, in order to present a realistic portrayal of their friends, they would temper their descriptions on extraversion, even when that was the desirable trait to convey, but augment their descriptions on introversion, when that was the desirable trait to convey.

Findings for Experiment 2: Did participants engage in beneficial impression management for their friends?

Descriptions on extraverted and introverted traits. Although these predictions were not supported, it was evident that friends of socially anxious people would engage in

beneficial impression management, and would do so to the extent that they described their friends as being as extraverted as nonsocially anxious participants. That is, participants described their socially anxious friends as more extraverted to an attractive versus unattractive discussant who preferred extraverts, and as more extraverted to an attractive discussant who preferred extraverts rather than introverts. Thus, it appears that friends of highly socially anxious people were willing to present their friends most desirably, even if it meant describing them to be something they really are not (i.e., extraverted). Given that socially anxious people tend not to be assertive in their self-presentation, having friends be assertive for them in this way may result in more positive social interactions. In fact, it was evident in the present study, that when people engaged in beneficial impression management for their socially anxious friends they did not take the "safe" route to self-presentation; rather they described their friends as relatively extraverted.

Friends of socially anxious people, however, did not concomitantly alter their descriptions of their friends to discussants who preferred introverts, or for their descriptions of their friends on introverted traits. In previous research this was not the case; participants altered their descriptions on introverted qualities to match (or contradict) the introverted preferences of discussants. Perhaps, in the present study, because the people for whom participants were making impressions represented the top and bottom tertiles of socially anxious individuals, issues related to the importance of social traits and social skills were more salient, thereby making participants' descriptions more sensitive to the negative stereotypes associated with introversion. In fact, in the manipulation checks it was evident that associates related extraverted qualities with

attractive discussants. When dealing with a sample that is either very socially gifted or very socially awkward, the association of extraversion with positive traits and introversion with negative traits may be more noticeable. Although I made an effort to create an introverted description that was not overtly undesirable, in future studies that examine how friends will describe socially and nonsocially anxious friends, it may be more effective to select preferences of the discussant that are not traits associated with social skills.

Surprisingly, participants who described friends low in social anxiety did not engage in beneficial impression management at all. They did not differentially describe their friend as more or less extroverted or introverted depending on the likes of the discussant or their friend's opinion of the discussant. Although previous research did not measure social anxiety levels of the people for whom impression were made, friends, dating partners, and even similar others engaged in beneficial impression management. It is thus unclear why friends of people low in social anxiety did not alter their descriptions. Because their friends are probably very socially skilled and extroverted, participants may have assumed they did not need to help them make a good impression, and instead described them as they actually see them (i.e., as very extroverted). Or, it may be that because friends of people low in social anxiety realize that their socially confident friends may value their extroverted qualities, and believe that they are central to their self-view, they consistently describe those friends as being extroverted regardless of the circumstances. Nonetheless, thus far in beneficial impression management research it is rare to find that friends did not engage in beneficial impression management.

Descriptions on non-preference traits. I also expected that if participants did not engage in beneficial impression management when describing friends on extroverted and

introverted traits, they might adapt their descriptions on non-preference traits to attempt to still provide a positive impression of their friends. For example, for participants making impressions for socially anxious friends in the introverted condition in which beneficial impression management was not evident, perhaps they would have described their friends as more intelligent and kind to attractive versus unattractive discussants. Although the pattern of means to some extent reflect this idea, the effects are only marginal. Therefore, the descriptions on non-preference traits did not provide a complement to the findings for extraverted traits, nor did they support the initial hypotheses.

Influence of friendship strength. In the present study, friendship strength also did not play a role. This is contradictory to two studies in beneficial impression management that found that expressing stronger feelings for a friend was a precursor to providing beneficial impression management (Pontari & Schlenker, 2001; Schlenker & Britt, in press). It is unclear why for this group of participants friendship strength did not influence provision of support. Although previous research relating friendship to social anxiety found that socially anxious people tend to be less satisfied with their friendships (Jones & Carpenter, 1986; Montgomery et al., 1991), the associates' level of friendship strength did not differ depending on their friend's social anxiety scores. Thus, it would appear that all associates in this study were starting out on the same level of friendship with their socially and nonsocially anxious friends. However, it may be noteworthy that friendship strength did not influence the responses of recipients' of help in Experiment 1 of Study 2. Perhaps, there is something characteristic of people high and low in social anxiety that would make friendship strength less important.

Conclusions

Regardless of the inconsistencies with previous research in beneficial impression management, in combination with Study 1, and Experiment 1 of Study 2, the present study provides more evidence that beneficial impression management, or relying on friends for help in social life, is a feasible strategy for socially anxious people. At the outset of this study, one major concern was if socially anxious people would have friends who are willing to engage in beneficial impression management for them. The present research not only documents that friends will rise to the occasion for their socially needy friends, but that friends of socially anxious people express just as strong feelings of closeness and liking for them as friends of nonsocially anxious people. This, paired with the findings that help from friends can reduce nervousness for socially anxious participants may provide a more positive outlook for the social lives of socially anxious people, as well as self-presentation strategies available to them.

One caveat should be noted for this conclusion. Although Experiments 1 and 2 provided evidence that socially anxious people can benefit from their friends help, and that friends did help them manage their impressions, the specific pattern of results in each study considered together reveal an interesting pattern. For socially anxious people to experience reductions in nervousness, the help they received had to be safe and beneficial. In Experiment 2, when friends of socially anxious people engaged in beneficial impression management, they described their socially anxious friends as being as extraverted as nonsocially anxious people. This description would not seem to fall under the category of "safe," nor would socially anxious participants view it as beneficial. Thus, in order to

conclude that relying on friends is a strategy that is available and effective for socially anxious people, it may be important to ensure that the help they require matches the help they actually receive.

A next step in this research might also be to examine how people feel about helping their friends manage their impressions. Would friends of socially anxious people tire of helping their friends? If it is the case that friends of the socially anxious often act as social surrogates, then, the fact that they do not express any less feelings for their friends than friends of nonsocially anxious people may suggest that they do not mind helping their friends navigate social life, or perhaps they do not even realize they are doing so. Moreover, that participants were willing to describe their socially anxious friends as extraverted may indicate that they do not view them as extremely introverted or awkward, or at least do not view their social skills as negatively as the socially anxious friends themselves view their social skills.

The present study also broadens the research already conducted in beneficial impression management. The studies completed thus far have not considered the characteristics of the people for whom friends are providing impressions. The current findings indicate how influential those characteristics can be in determining who provides help and when. Also recently, beneficial impression management has been called a subtle, but useful form of social support (Pontari & Schlenker, 2001; Schlenker & Britt, in press). Applying this type of help to the socially anxious population highlights its importance in relationships, and how it can be utilized to help those who struggle during social interaction.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The social psychological literature on social anxiety presents a fairly dismal picture for those who score high on measures of social anxiety. Socially anxious people doubt their ability to make a good impression on others, and thus approach social interaction with a protective self-presentation style. Fearing rejection and embarrassment, socially versus nonsocially anxious people tend affiliate less with others, take less initiative in social interaction, and self-disclose little during conversation; all behaviors that tend to elicit less than positive reactions from others. But, socially anxious people have a need to belong and feel accepted by others; they want to have positive social interactions and realize the importance of having a satisfying social life. How, then, might socially anxious people deal with social interactions? What may be a more effective but safe strategy they could utilize to better their social lives?

The present research proposed that socially anxious people may cope with social life by utilizing social support. That is, by relying on friends to help manage impressions, people who are socially anxious may feel more comfortable and confident during social interaction. Having friends put in a good word, start a conversation, or make introductions can smooth over interactions, set the groundwork for new relationships, and take the focus away from socially anxious people's self-doubts.

To provide evidence that relying on social networks is a feasible and productive strategy there were several hurdles to cross. First, most research investigating friendships and social support indicate that people who are socially anxious are less satisfied with their close relationships and the support they receive from those relationships (Jones & Carpenter, 1986; Montgomery et al., 1991). They also tend to report having fewer friends and smaller social networks. Thus, it may seem odd to assume that people who have difficulty with social interaction would or could rely on friends for help; having or keeping friends may be part of the problem for socially anxious people. However, I put forth that people who are socially anxious as defined by social psychologists do have friends that they could count on for support. Study 1 and Study 2 provide evidence that this is in fact the case.

In Study 1, socially anxious people reported relying more on friends and others than nonsocially anxious people in different aspects of social interaction. In the dating realm, for example, socially anxious people tended to recall having friends introduce them to potential romantic partners more than nonsocially anxious people. Also in Study 1, for questions regarding satisfaction with close friends and social support, socially anxious people did not differ from nonsocially anxious people. Although they indicated less satisfaction with their social life and number of friends, they did not differentially endorse how happy they were with their close friends and support they receive from those friends. Study 2 provided direct evidence that socially anxious people have friends. They were able to recruit friends to come to the experimental session; an apparent form of support in itself. Also in Study 2, socially anxious and nonsocially anxious friends expressed similar

levels of liking and loving for their friends, and these friends in turn also indicated that they did not feel differently about their friends based on their level of social anxiety. Overall, there is evidence that socially anxious people have friends and in many cases feel as positively about them as nonsocially anxious people.

A second hurdle to overcome was how to differentiate the function that friends may serve in social life for socially versus nonsocially anxious people. Nonsocially anxious people tend to be more extraverted and outgoing, thus they too might report that friends play a large role in their social life. In Study 1, it was evident that in many social situations, most people report having friends involved. When meeting their close friends, or meeting new acquaintances at a party, regardless of their level of social anxiety, people recalled having friend's present most or more often. I proposed that what differentiates how socially and nonsocially anxious view their friend's support and presence in social life is if that support is necessary (i.e., for socially anxious people) versus an added bonus to an already satisfying social life(i.e., for nonsocially anxious people). In Study 1, there was some evidence for this in that socially anxious people in some cases did indicate relying more on friends, and often indicated not relying on themselves to initiate social interaction. Moreover, nonsocially anxious people never indicated relying more on friends than socially anxious people. And, when asked directly about why they preferred friends to be present during social interactions, socially anxious more than nonsocially anxious people answered that friends made social interaction less intimidating.

In Study 2, I proposed that another way to show how socially anxious people versus nonsocially anxious people relied differently on friends for help during social

interaction was to demonstrate the different benefits experienced from that help. That is, I predicted that socially anxious people would experience more reductions in nervousness than nonsocially anxious people. This was not supported in Study 2; both groups showed some reductions in nervousness from the different types of help provided by friends.

A third hurdle to cross in this research was to determine what type of help would actually benefit socially anxious people. Given their tendency to prefer a protective self-presentation style, one could imagine how a friend making an impression for a socially anxious person could actually increase nervousness for the socially anxious person. In other words, whereas nonsocially anxious people may want friends to describe them very positively, socially anxious people might prefer friends to temper the impressions they make for them so as not to set them up for failure by creating social expectations they could not fulfill. In Study 2 (Experiment 1), it was proposed that making help "safe" by allowing socially anxious people to have inform their friends as to what to the type of impression the would want to make on an interaction partner, or by having close versus non-close friends make the impression, socially anxious people could benefit by being less nervous during social interactions from this help. Safeness was predicted not to influence nonsocially anxious people.

Study 2, Experiment 1 provided mixed evidence for these issues. The manipulation of safeness on its own did not have the intended effect on socially or nonsocially anxious participants. Friendship strength also did not have the predicted effect on participants. What did influence the benefit participants received from friends' help was their own perceptions of that help along with the type of help received. Moreover,

these effects were experienced by both socially and nonsocially anxious participants. Thus, future research needs to identify directly what socially anxious people would view as helpful support from friends, and if and why this support differs from what nonsocially anxious people experience and prefer from friends.

A fourth hurdle to surpass in the present research was determining if friends of socially anxious people would actually help their friends make desirable impressions on others. If socially anxious people often come across as awkward and uncomfortable during social interaction, would friends be willing to put themselves on the line by speaking on their behalf to others? And, if friends of socially anxious people do engage in beneficial impression management, would they do so differently than friends of nonsocially anxious participants? Study 2, Experiment 2 provided evidence that people would in fact make a desirable impression for their socially anxious friends, even to the point of describing them as being as extraverted as nonsocially people. Contrary to predictions, however, friends of nonsocially anxious people did not engage in beneficial impression management. Thus, further research could address how the characteristic of the person for whom impressions are being made influenced the help that they receive.

Finally, the essence of my dissertation relied on the idea that the provision and acceptance of social support can help socially anxious people better cope with social life. However, the literature often focuses on how distressed populations (i.e., anxious or depressed) tend not to utilize or solicit social support well, tend to perceive that social support is less available to them, or actually have less support available to them (e.g., Cohen et al., 1986; Fondacaro & Moos, 1989). For example, a socially anxious person,

due to their tendency to interpret negative outcomes from social interactions may interpret a friend's behavior as more negative and less supportive than it actually is. Or, because socially anxious people tend not to take social risks, they may be unwilling or unable to solicit the help of their friends in social interaction. Moreover, some researchers suggest that social support is not always welcome because it makes people feel dependent and weak (Bolger, Zuckerman, & Kessler, 2000; Sarason, Sarason, & Pierce, 1994). If socially anxious people already doubt their social abilities and feel that they are incapable of making a good impression on others, then it would seem to be the case that support in social life might actually create stress for socially anxious people. However, the present study provides evidence to the contrary for these issues. Socially anxious participants in the present research had friends. They reported counting on those friends in social life. They recruited friends to help, and they experienced a positive outcome when they thought that help would benefit them.

It may be that beneficial impression management provides a form of social support that works for socially anxious people. It many instances, if socially anxious people have friends, it may not be necessary to solicit this type of support from them. Pontari and Schlenker (2001), for example, put forth that over time, people in close relationships may engage in beneficial impression management almost automatically. Thus, socially anxious people may not have to ask for their friends' help; it may come naturally to their friends to describe them desirably to others. Similarly, beneficial impression management can be a subtle form of social support. Often, people might not be aware that friends are monitoring information about them to impress others. Bolger et al. (2000) suggest that it

is the more subtle, everyday types of social support that are most effective in reducing stress. For socially anxious people, it may be that simply having friends present during social interaction allows them to believe that they have a better chance of coming off well to others.

In summary, the present research has established that relying on social networks to better social life is a feasible and effective strategy for socially anxious people. The issues outlined in the previous paragraph leave many questions to be addressed. Do socially anxious people realize the support they receive? Do (or can) they actively solicit this type of support from their friends? Do friends of socially anxious people realize the support they provide or does it come naturally to them? Another important issue to address is whether this strategy is applicable to people who are clinically diagnosed with social anxiety. The participants in the present study were selected by a social psychological definition of social anxiety. The social anxiety experienced by these participants is mild in comparison to those who are clinically socially anxious whose chronic fear of social interaction can be debilitating and interfere with daily life. It may be the case that relying on members of one's social network is a strategy that is applicable only to those who are mildly socially anxious. However, even if chronically socially anxious people may not have friends to rely on for help, they perhaps could focus on family members as social surrogates. If this was an effective strategy, then counselors and therapists could focus patients on the positive aspects of their social interactions with these supportive others, and instruct them as to how to use these close others to help with social life.

Although previous literature investigating the behaviors and strategies of socially anxious people have focused on what they do that is ineffective, it is also apparent that socially anxious people develop friendships and live productive social lives. This dissertation investigated what socially anxious people may do that may be effective for improving their social interactions. Three studies provided evidence that socially anxious people utilize their existing social networks to help them face social interactions. The findings from this research provide a more positive outlook for the social lives of people high in social anxiety, and that there are safe, yet effective self-presentational strategies available for them.

APPENDIX A
OVERVIEW

Developing Friendships and Meeting Acquaintances

We are interested in investigating how people get to know people; how they make new friends, meet new acquaintances, find a date, or interact with a new boss at work. People encounter many types of social situations in which they have to relate to someone they may not know very well, or they may meet someone new that they would like to get to know better. Our purpose is to get an idea of how people deal with these types of situations in their everyday life.

We will ask you to recall several types of situations that people typically encounter in college that involve meeting or getting to know new people. We ask that you remember, to the best of your ability, how you reacted to the different situations. We are interested in getting honest, accurate descriptions of your own experiences. There are no right or wrong answers here today. One reason we are doing this research is because people do react to these situations very differently. Again, what we are interested in is documenting the many different ways that people can handle and react to social situations.

We will give you several scenarios that most people may at one time or another encounter. Please read each scenario carefully, try to recall and visualize your own experiences that match the scenario, and than respond to the questions that follow each scenario. If any of the questions or scenarios are unclear, please ask the experimenter for help.

Informed Consent Form

Study Title: Developing Friendships and Meeting Acquaintances

Principal Investigator: Beth Pontari
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Project Supervisor: Dr. Barry Schlenker
269 Psychology; 392-0601, Ext. 253; schlenkr@psych.ufl.edu

This study will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. You will be given 1 research credit for participation. You will be asked to recall and visualize social situations you have experienced such as meeting new friends and attending social events. You will be asked to answer questions regarding how you responded to the situations. You will also complete questionnaires that assess your opinions and interests. The purpose of the study is to investigate how people approach common social interactions, and how people develop friendships and get acquainted with others.

We do not foresee any risks or discomforts for participants. Participants may benefit via knowledge gained from exposure to research procedures and subject matter.

Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. You do not have to answer any question that you do not wish to answer. The experimenter will answer any questions that you may have at the end of the study. Your responses will remain confidential to the extent provided by law. Your data will be coded via an arbitrary number and not your name.

Questions about your rights can be directed to the University of Florida Institutional Review Board office, PO Box 112250, UF, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250.

_____

I have read the procedure described above. I agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

_____   _____
Participant   Date

_____   _____
Experimenter   Date

Developing Friendships and Meeting Acquaintances

In the next few pages, we will present you with short scenarios. We ask that you recall the last few situations you personally experienced that resemble those scenarios, and respond to the questions following each scenario. Attempt to visualize each scenario as vividly as possible.

Directions:
After each scenario, we will ask you questions about the experiences you recalled. For each of those questions, we will provide several responses that describe possible reactions to the situations. We'd like you to rank those responses in order as to how descriptive they are of your behavior. Each question will give you specific instructions as to how to rank order the responses. In general, you will rank the responses in order from 1, indicating what occurred MOST OFTEN, or is MOST CHARACTERISTIC of you, to 4, indicating what occurred LEAST OFTEN, or is LEAST CHARACTERISTIC of you. For some questions, you will have only 3 responses to rank, so you will rank them from 1 (MOST OFTEN) to 3 (LEAST OFTEN).

> Example Item:
> When completing school assignments, you: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurs MOST OFTEN to 3 = what occurs LEAST OFTEN)
> _____ a. complete assignments ahead of time.
> _____ b. complete assignments on time.
> _____ c. complete assignments late.

(The example indicates that you most often complete assignments on time, and that you least often or it complete assignments late).

Note: When you rate the responses, each number (1 through 4, or 1 through 3, depending on the number of responses offered), should be used only once.

For each scenario, think of examples from your own life that represent that situation, and then answer the questions that follow.

Scenario #1

Think about some of your closest friends. To help you visualize your friends, please place their initials in the following blank space (you can put as many or few friend's initials as you like):

_____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

Recall the situations in which you met and got to know these friends. Think about the specific details and circumstances of how you came to be good friends. For example, try to picture where you met and how, and what types of activities you did when you were becoming good friends. Recall how you felt during those times, and the types of thoughts you may have had.

For each question, rank each response according to the instructions indicated in the parentheses after the question.

1. When you first met these friends: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 4 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).
_____ a. you introduced yourself to this new friend.
_____ b. you were introduced by a friend
_____ c. you were introduced by someone you didn't know very well.
_____ d. your new friend introduced him- or herself to you.

2. At what types of locations did you meet most of your closest friends? (Rank each response in order from 1 = where you met your friends MOST OFTEN to 4 = where you met your friends LEAST OFTEN).
_____ a. school (classes, on campus)
_____ b. work
_____ c. common activities or interests (extracurricular clubs, sports, etc.)
_____ d. social activities (at a party, restaurant, bar, etc.)
(If you met your friends in some other way, please indicate where: _____)

3. When you think of your closest friends (i.e., the ones whose initials you mentioned above), would you say that: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what is MOST CHARACTERISTIC of them to 3 = what is LEAST CHARACTERISTIC of them):
_____ a. they all know one another and are acquaintances.
_____ b. they all know one another and are all close friends with each other.
_____ c. most do not know one another, and represent different groups of my friends.

4. One part of becoming close friends with people is spending time with them. When thinking about the times when you were getting to know your good friends: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 3 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. you would initiate and plan the time you spent together.
_____ b. your friend(s) would initiate and plan the time you spent together.
_____ c. both you and your friend(s) would initiate and plan the time you spent together.

5. If you wanted to meet new people, or extend your group of friends you would: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what you would MOST LIKELY do to 3 what you would LEAST LIKELY do).

_____ a. go up and introduce yourself to people.
_____ b. get your friends to help you meet people.
_____ c. wait until other people introduce themselves to you.

Scenario #2:
Recall the last few times in which you met someone that was a potential dating partner or romantic interest. Regardless of the outcome of that meeting, think about the circumstances and details of when you first met this person. For example, think about where you met, how you felt during that meeting, and what other people were present (if any). Recall the time when you were first getting to know this person, specifically the activities you did together, and so on.

In the following spaces, briefly, pick one of those situations and describe it. Provide details of where and how you met (you do not need to provide names). _____
_____
_____

For each question, rank each response according to the instructions indicated in the parentheses after the question.

1. In the situations you recalled, the potential dating partner or romantic interest was: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what is MOST CHARACTERISTIC of the dating partner to 3 = what is LEAST CHARACTERISTIC of the dating partner).

_____ a. a good friend of one of your close friends.
_____ b. a friend or acquaintance of someone you knew (but who was not necessarily a friend).
_____ c. someone you met whom you and your friends did not know.

2. In the situations you recalled, when you first met the potential dating partner: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 4 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. you introduced yourself to him or her.
_____ b. you were introduced by a friend.
_____ c. you were introduced by someone you didn't know very well.
_____ d. he or she introduced him- or herself to you.

3. If you were at a social event in which a person whom you were interested in romantically was attending, in order to get to know that person, you would: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what you would MOST LIKELY do to 3 what you would LEAST LIKELY do).

_____ a. go up and introduce yourself to that person.

_____ b. get your friends to help you meet the person.

_____ c. wait until the person noticed you and introduced him- or herself to you.

For items 4 and 5, for each response, provide a percentage out of 100% that indicates how much each response describes what occurred (item #4) or would occur (item #5) in the situations you recalled. For each question, the sum of the percentages for response a and b should equal 100%. For example, if you think responses a and b describe what you did or would do equally, you would indicate 50% and 50%. If you think response a describes what you did or would do more, you would indicate 75% for response a and 25% for response b.

4. In the situations you recalled about meeting a potential dating partner, what % of the time did:

    _____a. you did not have any information (i.e. what he or she was like) about the potential dating partner.

+ _____b. you had some information (i.e. what he or she was like) about the potential partner.

= 100%

5. When you are hoping to get together with a new romantic interest, what % of the time do you:

    _____ a. count on friends to help you make the best impression possible on this person.

+ _____ b. feel fine relying on yourself to make the best impression possible on this person.

= 100%

Scenario #3

Think about the last few times you went to a social event (like a party) at which there would be a lot of people whom you didn't know very well (or know at all). Recall the specific details of the event such as when and where it took place, and what other people were present. Think about how you handled the situation, and what types of thoughts and feelings you had during the event.

Very briefly, jot down details about what type of event it was, where it took place, and who was present.

_____

_____

_____

_____

For each question, rank each response according to the instructions indicated in the parentheses after the question.

1. When you attended these events or parties: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 4 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. you went with a group of friends.
_____ b. you went with one of your friends.
_____ c. you went alone and met your friends there.
_____ d. you went alone and would meet people there you didn't already know.

2. For the specific social events that you recalled you: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 3 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. spent most of the time at the event talking with people whom you already knew.
_____ b. spent most of the time talking with people whom you just met.
_____ c. spent most of the time talking with people you knew, and people you had just met.

3. At the social events you recalled: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 4 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. you introduced yourself to strangers and started up a conversation with them.
_____ b. people whom you didn't know introduced themselves to you and started up a conversation.
_____ c. you met people through the friends with whom you attended the party.
_____ d. people whom you didn't know very well introduced you to other new friends.

4. In the situations you recalled, the new people you were meeting: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what is MOST CHARACTERISTIC of the people to 3 = what is LEAST CHARACTERISTIC of the people).

_____ a. were good friends of one (or some) of your close friends.
_____ b. were friends or acquaintances of someone you knew (but who was not necessarily a friend).
_____ c. did not know your friends at all.

Scenario #4

In many classes people take at UF, group projects are a part of the course. Students often have to work in small groups to complete assignments. Recall classes in which you participated in small groups. Recall the interaction you had with the students in your group, and what occurred when the group was getting to know one another and completing the assignment. To help you visualize your experience working in a group on a project, write down the names of the classes in which you participated in the group and where they took place .

_____
_____
_____

For each question, rank each response according to the instructions indicated in the parentheses after the question.

1. In the specific instances of working in small groups that you recalled, if the instructor didn't assign you to a group, how did you find the group in which were going to participate? (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurred MOST OFTEN to 4 = what occurred LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. you approached people in the class whom you didn't know very well to form the group.

_____ b. you were asked by some of the friends you had in class to join their group.

_____ c. you were asked by people in the class whom you didn't know very well to join their group.

_____ d. people you didn't know in class introduced you to other people to help you join a group.

2. When you register for classes at UF, you: (Rank each response in order from 1 = what occurs MOST OFTEN to 4 = what occurs LEAST OFTEN).

_____ a. try and take classes that your friends are also taking.

_____ b. try and take classes that at least one of your friends is taking.

_____ c. are unaware if any of your friends are taking the classes for which you plan to register, but hope that they will be in your classes.

_____ c. are unaware if any of your friends are taking the classes for which you plan to register, but are not very concerned about it.

Questionnaire 2

The following questions do NOT refer to the scenarios presented, but address more general types of behavior.   Please follow the instructions for each question, and answer it accordingly.

1. There are many different ways that people tend to meet strangers who eventually become acquaintances or friends. The following are some examples of ways that people tend to meet one another. Please indicate using the following 1-7 scale how characteristic each way of meeting people is of you.

```
1--------------2----------------3---------------4---------------5----------------6---------------7
```
Not at all characteristic   Very much characteristic
of the way I meet people   of the way I meet people

When I meet new people:
_____ I tend to introduce myself.
_____ I tend to get introduced by another person whom I don't know.
_____ friends tend to introduce me.
_____ I tend to introduce myself but have friends who know the person I am meeting.
_____ I tend to wait until people introduce themselves to me.
_____ I tend to talk to new acquaintances when I am with or in a group of friends.

2. For the following statements, please use the 1-7 below to describe how characteristic each one is of you.
```
1----------------2----------------3---------------4----------------5-------------6----------------7
```
Not at all   Very much
Characteristic of me   Characteristic of me

When you attend parties or social gatherings, you would prefer your friends to be present because:
_____ it is typically more fun to have your friends around.
_____ it is easier to meet other people when you have other friends around.
_____ it seems less intimidating to be at a social event when your friends are there.

3. To answer the following questions, please use the 1-7 scale described below:

1----------------2------------------3--------------4--------------5--------------6----------------7
Not at all   Very much
Satisfied   Satisfied

_____ How satisfied are you with your social life?
_____ How satisfied are you with your close friendships?
_____ How satisfied are you with the amount of social support you receive from friends?
_____ How satisfied are you with your social network? (friends, acquaintances, family, etc.)
_____ How satisfied are you with the number of friends you have?

4. Think about situations in which you are meeting new people, or making new friends or acquaintances. The following three responses indicate ways that people typically meet people in social situations. Next to each response, provide a percentage out of 100% that indicates how much each response describes what you tend to do in situations in which you are meeting new people. The numbers you place next to the responses should add up to 100%.

    _____ Your friends introduce you to other people.
+ _____ The new people you are meeting introduce themselves to you.
+ _____ You introduce yourself to new people.
= 100%

5. Think about one of your friends with whom you spend a good deal of "social" time (i.e., going out, going to the movies, eating lunch, etc.). To help you visualize this person, place his or her initials here: ____
Using the following 1-7 scale, rate how characteristic EACH TRAIT is of your friend.

1----------------2------------------3--------------4--------------5--------------6------------------7
Not at all characteristic   Very much characteristic
of my friend   of my friend.

helpful	_____	boring	_____	kind	_____	meets people easily	_____
funny	_____	rude	_____	quiet	_____	bold	_____
shy	_____	reliable	_____	talkative	_____	trustworthy	_____
life of the party	_____	selfish	_____	nervous	_____	good at conversation	_____
good friend	_____	confident	_____	knows you	_____	responsible	_____

6. Below are several short descriptions of a person. Using the following 1-7, rate how much you would want this person for a friend:

1---------------2-----------------3-------------4--------------5---------------6----------------7
Would NOT AT ALL   Would VERY MUCH want
want this person as my friend.   this person as my friend.

Someone who is not afraid to go up to a complete stranger and introduce him- or herself._____
Someone who prefers to spend time with a small group of good friends._____
Someone who takes the lead during social gatherings and makes sure people are introduced to one another. _____
Someone who seems to be able to find someone to talk to you in a room full of strangers. _____
Someone who prefers to spend time alone with one or two friends. _____
Someone who has a wide array of friends who are not all from the same social group._____
Someone who attends social gatherings only when they know their friends will be there._____
Someone who is more reserved. _____

As we mentioned, we are interested in determining how people approach common types of social situations; how they meet new people, make new friends, deal with social gatherings, etc.. If you think we have missed any part of the way you approach social situations, or you have any comments about the study, please indicate them now.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Overview: Getting Acquainted with Others

The research in which you are participating today focuses on how people develop acquaintanceships; how people who meet for the first time get to know one another. Specifically, we are interested in examining how friends can be involved in this process; that is why we asked people to bring friends with them to the session today.

Research on acquaintanceship typically focuses on the two people that are getting to know one another. But, we are taking a different approach. As you probably know, other friends can also be involved in the process. For example, before you actually meet a new acquaintance, you may have heard information about him or her from a mutual friend. Or, a friend may even introduce you to a new acquaintance, knowing you may have similar interests. Whatever the situation may be, when two people are getting to know one another, they may end up learning as much about each other from mutual friends or from other people as they might learn when they are having one-on-one interactions.

We are having all participants report for this study with someone they know. We are including a wide gamut of relationships, from close, same-sex friends to dating partners, to begin to examine how friends and close others may be involved in the acquaintanceship process. During your session, there is at least one other set of friends participating.

What we hope to do is simulate when people meet and get to know one another for the first time, and how friends can be involved in the process. As we mentioned, you or your friend will be randomly assigned to the role of a "discussant" - the person who will have an interaction with a potential new acquaintance (who is actually another participant in today's session). In other words, you or your friend will be meeting with someone you don't know today to have a short interaction.

At the same time, one of you will be assigned the role of the "associate" - the person who will provide information to the discussant. As we mentioned, we think friends may play a role in how people get to know one another. Thus, associates will be given the job of providing information about their friends to the new acquaintance with whom their friend will meet. Shortly, you will find out if you will play the role of the discussant or the associate.

If you have any questions about what will occur today, please ask the experimenter. After you have read and understand these instructions, and if you agree to participate, please read and sign the Informed Consent Form.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Getting Acquainted with Others

Principal Investigator: Beth Pontari
231E Psychology; 392-0601, Ext. 405; pontari@ufl.edu

Project Supervisor: Dr. Barry Schlenker
269 Psychology; 392-0601, Ext. 253; schlenkr@psych.ufl.edu

This study will take approximately 60 minutes to complete. If you are enrolled in PSY 2013, you will be given 2 research credits for participation. The purpose of the study is to investigate the acquaintanceship process. You will either be assigned to be a discussant who will have a short interaction with another participant, or an associate who will communicate information to the discussants. You will also complete questionnaires that address your opinions, preferences, and attitudes.

We do not foresee any risks or discomforts for participants. Participants may benefit via knowledge gained from exposure to research procedures and subject matter.

Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. You do not have to answer any question that you do not wish to answer. The experimenter will answer any questions that you may have at the end of the study. Your responses will remain confidential to the extent provided by law. Your data will be coded via an arbitrary number and not your name.

Questions about your rights can be directed to the University of Florida Institutional Review Board office, PO Box 112250, UF, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250.

_____

I have read the procedure described above. I agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

_____   _____
Participant   Date

_____   _____
Experimenter   Date

You have been randomly assigned to be a discussant. You will have a short interaction with another participant who has come for today's session. Your friend that you came to the session with will be the associate who provides information to the person with whom you will interact.

As we mentioned, we are interested in examining how friends or other people close to us influence the process of getting to know someone. Often, in real life, our friends share information about us with other people that we may be meeting for the first time, or they may speak on our behalf to people we are getting to know like a new friend, dating partner, and so on.

For most situations in which people are meeting someone new, they typically want to make the best impression possible on that person. To simulate what happens in real life, we'd like you to approach the upcoming interaction in the same manner. To the best of your ability, try to make a positive impression on the other discussant. Making a good impression on others can mean many different things, so know that there is no "right" way to make a good impression on the discussant.

In just a moment, you will be given the name, age, and hometown of the person with whom you will be interacting. We ask that you fill out the small sheet of paper attached so that the experimenter can share the same information about you with your interaction partner.

If you have any questions, please ask the experimenter.

At this time, the experimenter should have provided you with the name, age and hometown of the other discussant so that you have some information about the person with whom you will meet.

In real life, when we are meeting or getting acquainted with people, friends may share information about us with the person we are getting to know, and they may also tell us something about the person we will meet. For example, a friend may tell a potential dating partner about our hobbies and interests, and then inform us more about what the potential dating partner's likes and dislikes are. Further, when we know a friend is sharing information about us to a third party (i.e. a potential dating partner) we sometimes give them some idea of what we would like them to say. For example, if a friend is speaking to a potential dating partner on our behalf, we may tell them the types of information we really want them to express (or not express) so that our strengths and not our weaknesses are highlighted.

In today's session, you will not interact with your friend, so you will not learn anything about the other discussant from your friend. However, before you actually meet with the other discussant, as we mentioned, your friend will have the opportunity to provide information about you to the other discussant through a questionnaire. Thus, your friend will describe you to the discussant with whom you are interacting before you meet with him or her.

Importantly, what we are really interested in examining is how providing information to our friends about what we would like them to share with the third party (in today's session the other discussant) influences how we get to know others. Thus, we need to compare when people share information with friends to when they do not. To do this, in just a moment all discussants will complete a questionnaire that indicates the type of information they would prefer their friend to share with the other discussant. Thus, you will be able to communicate with your friend through questionnaire the types of things you want him or her to share with the other discussant. However, in some cases that information WILL BE SHOWN to your friend before he/she describes you to the other discussant, and in other cases that information WILL NOT BE SHOWN to your friend before he/she describes you to the other discussant. You will not find out what condition you are in until you have completed the questionnaire.

In just a moment, the experimenter will give you a questionnaire to complete that MAY OR MAY NOT be shown to your friend before he or she meets with your interaction partner.

INTERACTION INFORMATION FORM

The following questionnaire will allow you to indicate to your friend the types of information you would like him or her to share with the discussant with whom you will interact.

The following items represent different types of information people may share with each other when they are getting to know one another. You can inform your friend as to which areas to focus on. Using the following scale, please indicate FOR EACH AREA or type of information, how much you would like your friend to focus on that area.

```
1---------------2--------------3---------------4---------------5---------------6---------------7
Do not focus                                                                Very much focus
on area                                                                          on area
```

_____ intellectual ability (interest in school, academic competence, achievements in school)

_____ artistic or creative ability (in music, art, the performing arts, writing, etc.)

_____ athletic ability (athletic skills, sports achievements, dedication to fitness, etc.)

_____ social skills (ability to meet people, be outgoing, throw parties, entertain people etc.)

_____ concern for others (volunteer activities, extracurricular activities).

_____ leadership ability (at work, for school activities, etc.)

_____ work ethic (responsible, organized, reliable, trustworthy, etc.)

_____ If there is an area you would like your friend to focus on that is not indicated above, please describe it here and rate the area using the 1-7 scale.

When friends are providing information about us to a third party (for example, a potential dating partner), they often share things that help each person know what the other's interests are. This often helps with finding a common ground during conversation. Today, your friend may also be able to help direct what types of things you and your interaction partner discuss when you have your first meeting. Below are a list of different types of conversation topics. Using the 1-7 scale below, please RATE EACH TOPIC as to how much you would prefer that topic to be discussed during your interaction.

1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6----------------7
Do not want to   Very much want to
discuss topic

                                                                discuss topic
_____ being a student at UF (classes, professors, majors)   _____ your biggest fear
_____ your interests (hobbies, activities)   _____ your most happy moment at UF
_____ your feelings or reactions to the study today   _____ your political views
_____ your background (family, hometown)   _____ your most embarrassing moment at UF

Finally, although friends do know us very well, it sometimes helps to remind them of what we believe are our strengths and weakness. Below are 20 traits. Please rate how characteristic each trait is of you on the following 1-7 scale.

1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6----------------7
Not at all   Perfectly
characteristic of me   characteristic of me

_____	modest	_____	sociable	_____	cautious	_____	reserved
_____	outgoing	_____	kind	_____	intelligent	_____	good friend
_____	nervous	_____	trustworthy	_____	talkative	_____	responsible
_____	unreliable	_____	hard-working	_____	attractive	_____	caring
_____	boring	_____	sensitive	_____	helpful	_____	selfish

In just a moment, you will be taken into another lab room to meet the other discussant and have a short interaction. Remember your goal is to make the best impression possible on the discussant.

At this time, your friend is deciding what information to share about you with the discussant. As we mentioned earlier, what we are really interested in examining is how providing information to our friends about what we would like them to share with the third party (in today's session the other discussant) influences this process. Thus, we need to compare when people share information with friends to when they do not share information.

Before the associates actually provide the description of their friends to the other discussant, some WILL VIEW the "Interaction Information Form" (that you just completed) that indicates what their friends would like them to say to the other discussant. Others associates WILL NOT VIEW any of this information before they describe their friends to the other discussant.

In your case, your friend who will describe you to the other discussant:

_____ WILL view the information you just filled-out before
they share information about you to the other discussant.

_____ WILL NOT view the information you just filled-out
before they share information about you with the other discussant.

If any of these instructions are unclear, please ask the experimenter now.

PRE-INTERACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Before you and the other discussant meet, we would like you to answer some questions about your own reactions to the session today so far. Keep in mind there are no "right" answers to these questions. We are interested in how each participant responds to this "getting acquainted" situation. Please answer the questions as honestly as possible by <u>circling the number</u> that corresponds to your answer.

1. When I think about interacting with the other discussant, I feel:

| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7

| very worried   moderately   not worried
about it   worried about it   about it

2. When I think about interacting with the other discussant, I am:

| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7 |

| not looking   moderately   very much looking
forward to it   looking forward to it   forward to it.

3. Using the following 1 to 7 scale, indicate by placing a number from 1 to 7 next to each trait, to what extent each **characteristic describes HOW YOU FEEL RIGHT NOW:**

| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7 |

| not at all   moderately   very much
describes   describes   describes

friendly	_____	talkative	_____	shy	_____	quiet	_____
reserved	_____	nervous	_____	excited	_____	relaxed	_____
anxious	_____	outgoing	_____	sad	_____	confident	_____
mad	_____	upset	_____	hopeful	_____	enthusiastic	_____

4. Using the following 1 to 7 scale, indicate by placing a number from 1 to 7 next to each trait, to what extent each **characteristic describes how you think you will come across when you interact with the other discussant.**

| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7|
not at all   moderately   very much
describes   describes   describes

friendly	_____	extroverted	_____	shy	_____	introverted	_____
reserved	_____	nervous	_____	talkative	_____	relaxed	_____
anxious	_____	outgoing	_____	likable	_____	confident	_____
attractive	_____	comfortable	_____	impressive	_____	awkward	_____

5. In the space provided below, please indicate any other details we may not have addressed above, including <u>any thoughts you may be having at this moment</u> (continue on the back of this sheet if necessary).

_____

_____

_____

_____

The friend that you came with today had the opportunity to share information with the discussant with whom you will interact in just a moment.   Please answer the following questions about your friend:

6. What type of impression do you think your friend made for you?
| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7|
not a good   a moderately   very good
impression   good impression   impression

7. Do you think the information that your friend provided to the discussant:
| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7 |
Is not at all   Is perfectly
characteristic of you   characteristic of you

8. Even if your friend did not get to view the information that you filled-out, do you think the information that your friend shared with the discussant will be:
| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7|
Exactly like what you   Not at all like what
you indicated on the information sheet.   indicated on the information sheet

9. Do you think the information that your friend shared with the other discussant will be:
| 1-----------------2-----------------3-----------------4-----------------5-----------------6-----------------7 |
Very difficult   Very easy
to live up to   to live up to.

10. Do you think your friend:

| 1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6----------------7|
|Greatly underestimated   Greatly overestimated
your social abilities.   your social abilities

11. Do you think that having your friend share information with the discussant will:
Circle a number for items a, b, and c.

a.| 1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6----------------7 |
Not benefit you at all   Will very much benefit
during the interaction   you during the interaction

b.| 1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6----------------7|
Make the interaction   Make the interaction
very awkward   very comfortable.

c. | 1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6----------------7 |
Make the interaction   Make the interaction
more difficult.   much easier.

11. Typically, when you are meeting new people (i.e. a potential dating partner), would you say your friend is:

a. always involved in the acquaintanceship process.
b. often involved in the acquaintanceship process.
c. occasionally involved in the acquaintanceship process.
d. seldom involved in the acquaintanceship process.
e. never involved in the acquaintanceship process.

APPENDIX K
PROCEDURAL CHECK

To ensure that you have understood all of the instructions and information provided to you thus far in the session, please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate letter.

1. You are playing the role of the _____ in today's session.
a. associate
b. discussant
c. experimenter

2. Your friend is playing the role of the _____ in today's session.
a. associate
b. discussant
c. experimenter

3. In just a moment, you will have a short interaction with:
a. the other discussant
b. your friend (the associate).
c. the experimenter

4. For the interaction, you were instructed to:
a. be yourself.
b. make as good an impression as possible.
c. discuss your friend's characteristics.

5. Your friend:
a. will NOT share information with the discussant with whom you will interact.
b. will share information with the discussant with whom you will interact.

6. Your friend:
a. was able to view the information that you completed indicating the types of things you would like for him or her to share with the discussant.
b. was NOT able to view the information that you completed indicating the types of things you would like for him or her to share with the discussant.

APPENDIX L
DISCUSSANT DEBRIEFING

Thank you for participating in this study. First of all, do you have any questions or comments? Did you think at any time that the study may have involved something other than what you were told? If so, please discuss your questions or thoughts with the experimenter now.

Let me tell you more about what we are trying to learn from this study. As we said, we are very interested in how friends are involved in the acquaintanceship process. For example, we are curious about how friends will describe each other to a third party, and if this description provided by the friend helps the person who is interacting with that third party. What we have found so far in our research is that people tend to be very helpful when it comes to aiding their friends in social situations. When friends know we want to make a good impression on someone, they typically will respond by putting in a good word for us.

The role that you played today will allow us to investigate if having a friend share information with a person with whom we will interact influences our anticipation of that upcoming interaction. As you know, you did not actually have to interact with another participant today. You may have guessed by now that there were no other participants present other than you and your friend. We did not actually have you interact with another participant because we were more interested in how this information influenced the anticipation of the interaction, versus the interaction itself. Thus, some discussants believed their friends did share information with their interaction partner, while others believed their friend did not have the opportunity to do so. Perhaps, those who think their friend has the opportunity to describe them to someone they will meet will anticipate that the interaction will go more smoothly.

To study this process even more specifically, we thought that providing information to a friend about what you would like them to share with other discussant would also change the way you might feel about an upcoming interaction. That is why some discussants were told that the information sheet they completed would or would not be seen by their friend. Perhaps those who were able to give their friends that information felt they may know what to expect from the upcoming interaction.

Although your friend did play the role of the associate in this study, you may have deduced that they did not give information to another discussant. Your friend believed that you actually did interact with another participant because we provided your friend with information that he or she thought that you and the other discussant completed. What we wanted to see was if associates would change their description of you based on how much they thought you liked the other discussant, and what type of person the other discussant preferred in a friend. In other words, your friend thought they had information about the way you might want to be described to the other discussant. At the end of your friend's session, they will also be informed that you did not complete any of this information, and there was no actual other discussant.

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We feel the issues we are studying are sufficiently important to withhold the above information from you until now. We hope you agree and that you found your participation to be interesting. This line of research will help increase our understanding of how people relate to others and has many important applications for how people develop friendships, and deal with social life. Again, we want to reiterate that your participation in this study was and will be kept completely confidential; at no time were any of your responses revealed to your friend. Further, your responses will be averaged, along with the responses of many other subjects, to form group data. We are not focusing on the behavior of any single individual.

We have one other request to ask of you. In order to answer the questions posed by this research, it is important that future participants have no expectations when they arrive for our study. Because the study is looking at how limited information about other people affects the visualization process, we want to make sure that all participants have the same, appropriate amount of information when they start. We therefore ask you not to discuss this research with other students, who may themselves participate in the study, until at least the end of the semester. We hope we can count on your cooperation.

Do you have any questions about the experiment that were not answered in this debriefing? If so, feel free to ask the experimenter or contact Dr. Schlenker (PSY 269) or Beth Pontari (PSY 231E). Thank you again for your participation.

APPENDIX M
ASSOCIATE'S INSTRUCTIONS #1

You have been randomly assigned to be an associate. Your friend that you came to the session with will be a discussant and will meet with another person participating today (who is also playing the role of a discussant). Your friend and the other discussant will have several short interactions to get to know one another. Recall that your job is to provide information to the other discussant about your friend.

In real life, what often happens is people share information about a friend or someone they know with others. Friends sometimes give information about each other to potential acquaintances, dating partners, and even a potential employer. Today, although you will not meet face to face with the discussant with whom your friend will interact, you are functioning in a similar manner. Because the session is only an hour long, and to maintain a controlled setting in the lab situation, the information that you share about your friend will be in written form.

As we mentioned, your friend will have several short interactions with the other discussant. After each interaction, your friend and the other discussant will respond to some questionnaires. To simulate what might occur in a real acquaintanceship situation, you will be able to view some of this information to provide you with a better idea about the other discussant and how your friend is responding to him or her.

The sequence of interactions will go as follows;

1. Your friend and the other discussant will have a "get acquainted" meeting. They will meet face-to-face, introduce themselves to each other, and talk for a few minutes.

2. The discussants (your friend included) will be asked about their "first impressions" of one another through some questionnaires. The questionnaires they complete will vary, but will address things like how much they enjoyed the interaction, and what type of person they thought the other discussant was, and so on.

3. You will have an opportunity to view some of the questionnaires, both from your friend and from the other discussant with whom your friend is interacting.

4. You will then complete some questionnaires that ask you to provide information about your friend that will be shown to the other discussant.

5. The discussants will have a second meeting after you complete your questionnaires, and will respond to questions about their second meeting.

If you have any questions about the above sequence of events or the role that you will play, please ask the experimenter.

Your friend and the other discussant have met and talked for a few minutes. They then completed some questionnaires.

In real life, people typically know something about the person with whom they may be sharing information about their friend, and they often know how their friend feels about that person. To try to simulate this type of situation, without having you speak with your friend or the other discussant, we will give you some of the questionnaires that they have completed.

You will receive **2** of the questionnaires from the discussants. These questionnaires are:

1. From your friend (the person you came with to the session):
   His/her first impression of the other discussant (what did she/he think of the discussant).

2. From the other discussant (the person with whom your friend is interacting):
   His/her description of the type of person he or she prefers in a friend.

Please look over the questionnaires carefully.

After you have finished viewing this information, the experimenter will give you a short questionnaire to complete.

ATTRACTIVENESS MANIPULATION

DISCUSSANT'S FIRST IMPRESSION

Now that you have had a short interaction with the other discussant, we'd like to hear about your first impression of the discussant. Please give us your HONEST reaction to each item. This questionnaire will NOT be seen by the other discussant, but may be seen by the associates.

Rate the discussant on each of the following scales by checking the circle that best represents your impression of the discussant.

friendly ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ aloof, unfriendly

interesting ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ boring

intelligent ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ unintelligent

pleasant ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ unpleasant

physically ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ physically
attractive   unattractive

Overall, how good of a first impression did the discussant make on you?

Excellent ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ ⃝ Very poor
Impression   Impression

How much would you like to make a good first impression on this person?

Very Much ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ Very Little

How much would you like to get to know this person?

Very Much ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ Very Little

How much do you want this person to like you?

Very Much ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ ⭘ Very Little

Discussant: <u>Please do not write in this area.</u>

For experimenter use only.

Session #: _____

Discussant 1: _____

Discussant 2: _____

Items below completed by: _____

DISCUSSANT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Suppose you were asked to describe your "ideal friend"; someone with whom you would spend a lot of time. What qualities would you prefer in this person?

For each statement, circle the letter that best indicates the type of person you most prefer.

1. I'm more attracted to someone who would rather:
   a. stay home and watch a movie or read a book.
   b. go to a party or bar with a bunch of friends.

2. With regard to socializing, I am more attracted to someone who believes:
   a. it is more enjoyable when many people (25 or more) are present (i.e. "the more the merrier").
   b. it is more enjoyable to be with a small, intimate group of friends.

3. I am more attracted to someone who:
   a. is quiet, mild-mannered, and sensitive.
   b. is outgoing and the life of the party.

4. I am more at attracted to someone who:
   a. is reflective and likes to think and talk about serious topics and issues.
   b. likes to get out and do things, and is always on the go.

5. I prefer someone who would rather:
   a. go out and meet new people.
   b. hang out with good friends at home.

6. I am attracted to someone who MOST of the time is:
   a. bold and talkative.
   b. modest and introspective.

Condition 1: Associate to Discussant

Associate: <u>Please do not write in this area.</u>
           For experimenter use only.

Session #: _____

Discussant 1: _____

Discussant 2: _____

Items below completed by: _____ Items describe: _____

At this point, we'd like you to answer the following questions about your friend.
Keep in mind, **this questionnaire will be shown to the OTHER DISCUSSANT ONLY.**
Your friend WILL NOT SEE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, nor will it be discussed with
your friend at any time.

ASSOCIATE INFORMATION

Please describe your friend - the person with whom you came to the session. Give us your
HONEST reaction to each item. **Again, this questionnaire will be shown to the**
OTHER DISCUSSANT ONLY; it will not be seen by your friend at any time.

How much does each of the following characteristics describe your friend? Using the
following scale, place a 1 - 7 by each item to describe your friend.

```
1---------------2---------------3---------------4---------------5---------------6---------------7
Not at all                                                                  Perfectly
characteristic of my friend                             characteristic of my friend
```

_____ outgoing	_____ kind	_____ intelligent	_____ good friend
_____ nervous	_____ trustworthy	_____ talkative	_____ boisterous
_____ unreliable	_____ lazy	_____ attractive	_____ shy
_____ boring	_____ sociable	_____ selfish	_____ romantic

_____ sensitive	_____ friendly	_____ quiet	_____ extraverted
_____ confident	_____ reserved	_____ introspective	_____ reflective
_____ energetic	_____ bold	_____ introverted	_____ awkward
_____ anxious	_____ happy	_____ fun	_____ likable
_____ understanding	_____ cautious	_____ interesting	_____ life of the party
_____ polite	_____ attentive	_____ distracted	_____ modest

Using the following scale, please indicate FOR EACH AREA, if that area is a strength or a weakness for your friend:

1----------------2----------------3--------------4----------------5----------------6-------------------7
Very much a weakness   Very much a strength

_____ intellectual ability (interest in school, academic competence, achievements in school)

_____ artistic or creative ability (in music, art, the performing arts, writing, etc.)

_____ athletic ability (athletic skills, sports achievements, dedication to fitness, etc.)

_____ social skills (ability to meet people, be outgoing, throw parties, entertain people etc.)

_____ concern for others (volunteer activities, extracurricular activities).

_____ leadership ability (at work, for school activities, etc.)

_____ work ethic (responsible, organized, reliable, trustworthy, etc.)

_____ If you think your friend excels in an area that is not indicated above, please describe that area and rate it using the 1-7 point scale.

_____

PROCEDURAL CHECK

To ensure that you understood all of the directions and information that you received today, we ask that you answer the following questions by circling the appropriate letter. Your answers will NOT be shown to any other participant.

1. You are playing the role of the _____ in today's session.
a. associate
b. discussant
c. experimenter

2. Your friend is playing the role of the _____ in today's session.
a. associate
b. discussant
c. experimenter

3. The person with whom your friend interacted is:
a. male
b. female

4. The person with whom your friend interacted made what kind of impression on your friend?
a. very negative
b. negative
c. slightly negative
d. neither positive or negative
e. slightly positive
f. positive
g. very positive

5. The person with whom your friend interacted indicated that he or she prefers what type of person as an "ideal friend"? (more of an outgoing or reserved person?)
a. a very extraverted and outgoing person
b. an extraverted and outgoing person
c. a slightly extraverted and outgoing person.
d. a neither extraverted or reserved person.
e. a slightly quiet and reserved person.
f. a quiet and reserved person.
g. a very quiet and reserved person.

6. In the session today, were you concerned more about how your description of your friend might help him/her make a good impression during the interaction or about how accurate your description of your friend was?

a. Concerned primarily about helping my partner.
b. Concerned largely about helping my partner.
c. Concerned slightly about helping my partner.
d. Concerned equally about helping my partner and being accurate.
e. Concerned slightly about being accurate.
f. Concerned largely about being accurate.
g. Concerned primarily about being accurate.

APPENDIX S
ASSOCIATE DEBRIEFING

Thank you for participating in this study. First of all, do you have any questions or comments? Did you think at any time that the study may have involved something other than what you were told? If so, please discuss your questions or thoughts with the experimenter now.

Let me tell you more about what we are trying to learn from this study. As we said, we are very interested in how friends are involved in the acquaintanceship process. For example, we are curious about how friends will describe each other to a third party, and if this description provided by the friend helps the person who is interacting with that third party. What we have found so far in our research is that people tend to be very helpful when it comes to aiding their friends in social situations. When friends know we want to make a good impression on someone, they typically will respond by putting in a good word for us.

Although your friend did play the role of the discussant in today's session, he or she never interacted with another participant. Actually, there was no third person or other participant present in today's session. The questionnaires you received that you thought were completed by the discussants were filled out by the experimenter. The information you received was systematically varied so that we could study how the preferences and opinions of others affect the impressions we form and communicate. For example, does it matter how much a friend wants to make a good impression? To find out, we informed some participants that their friend wanted to make a good impression on the other discussant and we informed other participants that their friend did not. In addition, we investigated if the other discussants' ideal friend preference influenced people's descriptions of friends? Thus, we gave participants a description of the other person's "ideal friend" as being either more extraverted or more reserved. By looking at how people communicate impressions, we can begin to get a better understanding of the acquaintanceship process and the factors that play a role in the development of relationships.

During the session, your friend thought he or she was going to have an interaction with a third party, but did not actually do so. Discussants (your friend) were led to believe that associates either had or did not have the opportunity to share information with the other discussant. What we wanted to examine is if knowing that a friend was going to describe you to a potential interaction partner influenced the anticipation of that interaction. By the end of your friend's session, he or she will know, however, that there was no "other discussant" and that you were given false information about their impression of the supposed other discussant, and the discussant's preferences. Your description of your friend will not be shown to or discussed with your friend. Further, your responses will be averaged, along with the responses of many other participants who played the role of associate, to form group data. We are not focusing on the behavior of any single individual

We feel the issues we are studying are sufficiently important to withhold the above information from you until now. We hope you agree and that you found your participation to be interesting. This line of research will help increase our understanding of how people relate to others and has many important applications for how people develop friendships, and deal with social life. Again, we want to reiterate that your participation in this study was and will be kept completely confidential; at no time were any of your responses revealed to your friend.

We have one other request to ask of you. In order to answer the questions posed by this research, it is important that future participants have no expectations when they arrive for our study. Because the study is looking at how limited information about other people affects the visualization process, we want to make sure that all participants have the same, appropriate amount of information when they start. We therefore ask you not to discuss this research with other students, who may themselves participate in the study, until at least the end of the semester. We hope we can count on your cooperation.

Do you have any questions about the experiment that were not answered in this debriefing? If so, feel free to ask the experimenter or contact Dr. Schlenker (in room 269 Psychology) or Beth Pontari (PSY 231E). Thank you again for your participation.

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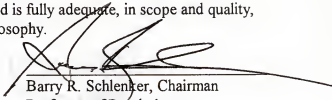
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Beth Anne Pontari was born on September 20, 1973, in Northfield, New Jersey. She completed her Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology at Colgate University in Hamilton, New York. Beth began her graduate education at the University of Florida in social psychology in August, 1996. Under the supervision of Barry R. Schlenker, she has worked to obtain a Doctorate of Philosophy. She will be an assistant professor at Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina.
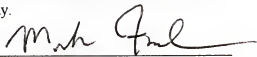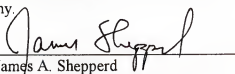
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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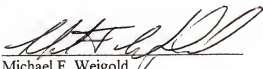Research Assistant Professor of
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